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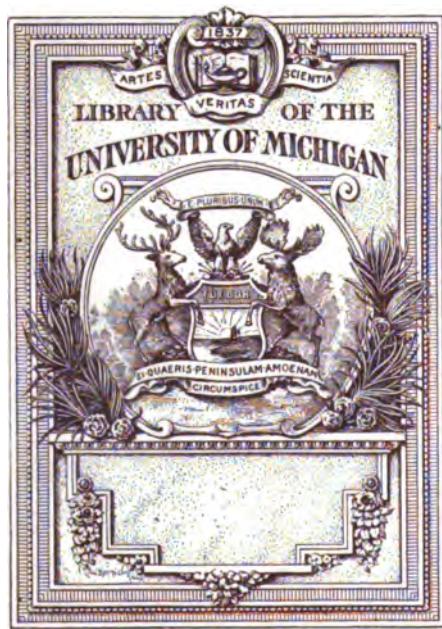
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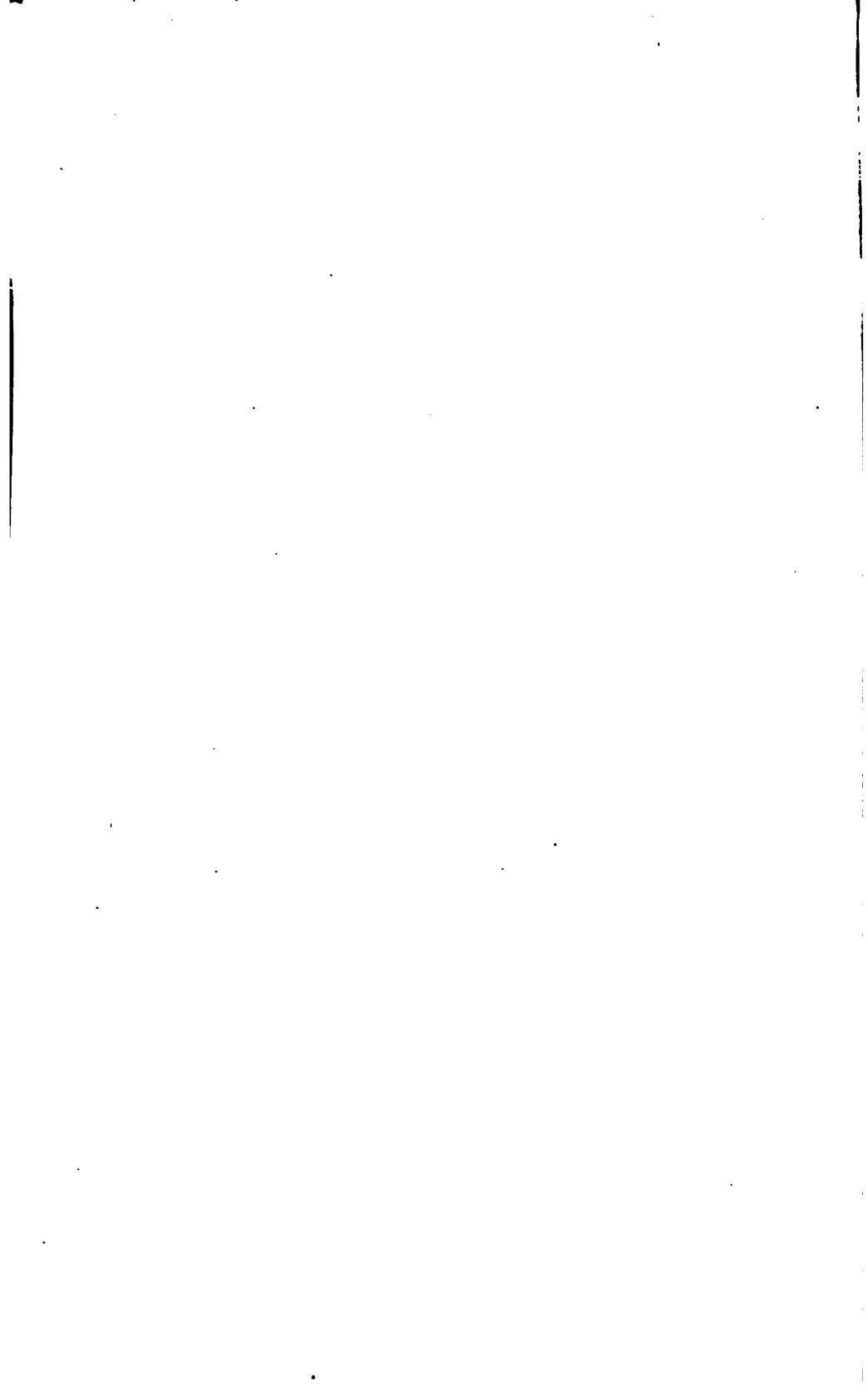
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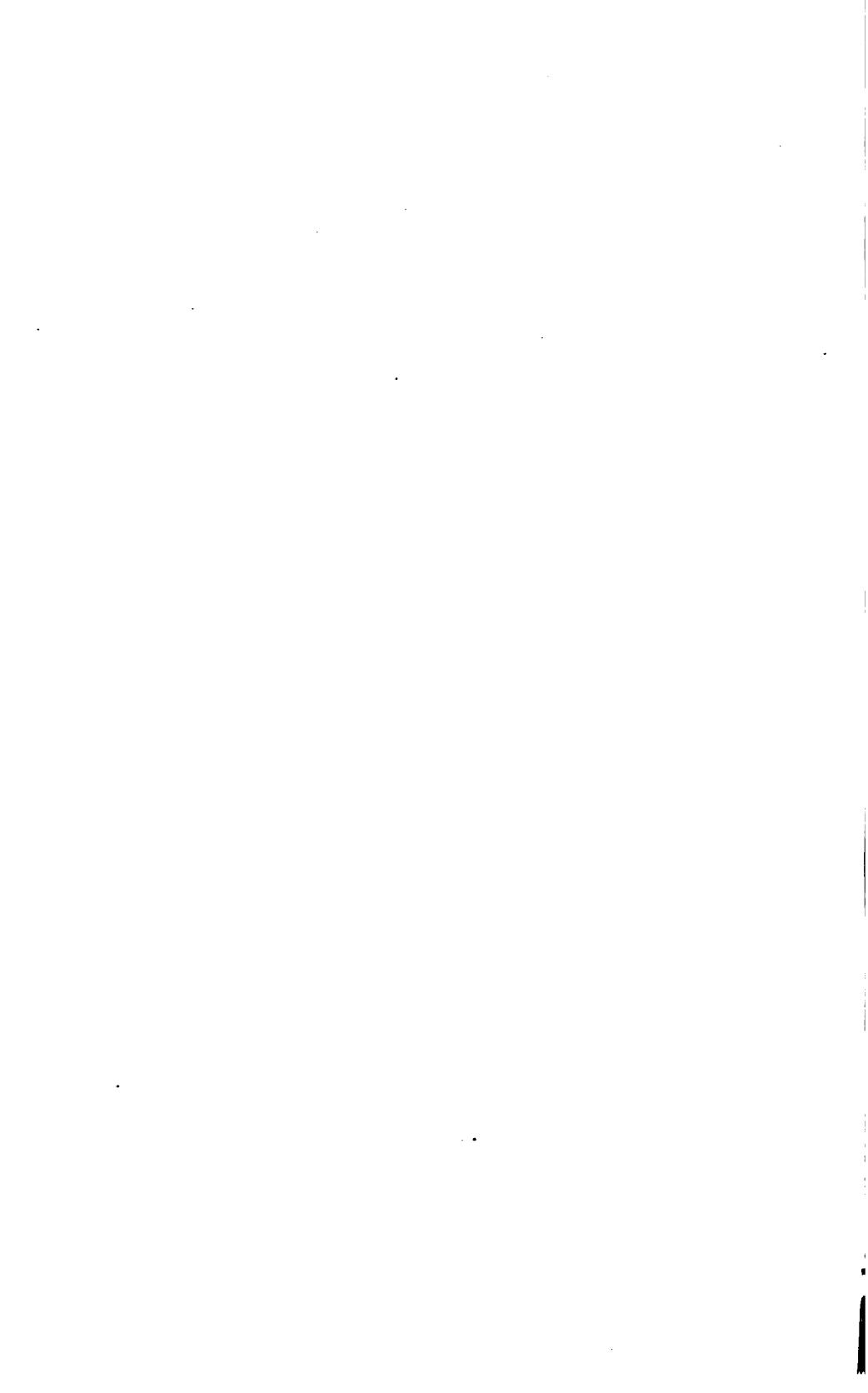
HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND.

VOL. V.

A



H I S T O R Y
OF
S C O T L A N D.

PATRICK FRASER TYTLER, ESQ.

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HISTORY
OF
S C O T L A N D.

CHAP. I.

M A R Y.

(CONTINUED.)

1554—1561.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Portugal.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Mary. Elizabeth.	Henry II. Francis II. Charles IX.	Charles V. Philip II.	John III. Sebastian.	Ferdinand I. Maximilian II.	Paul III. Julius III. Paul IV. Pius IV.

MARY OF GUISE, who now assumed the supreme authority, was in many respects well qualified for her high station. She possessed a calm judgment; good, though not brilliant, natural parts; manners which, without losing their dignity, were feminine and engaging; and so intimate a knowledge of the character of the people over whom she ruled, that, if left to herself, there was every prospect of her managing affairs with wisdom and success. Her abilities, indeed, were sufficiently apparent in the quiet and triumphant manner in which she had brought about the revolution which placed her at the head of affairs. Although of a different religion, she had so entirely gained the

affections of the Protestant party, that their support was one chief cause of her success. Nor by the prudent concessions which she made to their opponents, had she alienated from herself the hearts of the adherents of the ancient faith, whose leaders she attached to her interest by gifts of the vacant benefices, and the exertion of her influence at the papal court.¹ It was chiefly by her management that the fierce and sanguinary feuds, which for a long period had distracted the Scottish aristocracy, were composed; and her assumption of the regency was viewed with equal satisfaction by the clergy, the nobility, and the people.

But the possession of power is fraught with danger to the best. She had incurred many obligations to the court of France, which her gratitude or her promises impelled her to repay, by intruding foreigners into the offices hitherto filled by natives; and, unmindful of the extraordinary jealousy with which the Scottish people were disposed to regard all interference of this kind, she lent herself to measures dictated more by the ambition of the house of Guise, than by a desire to promote the happiness of her daughter's kingdom.

Her first act went far to disgust the nobility and the nation. Huntley the chancellor,² although permitted to retain the name, was superseded in all real power by Monsieur de Rubay, who obtained the place of vice-chancellor and possession of the great seal.

¹ Lesley, pp. 241, 242. MS. Records of privy council, fol. 8, p. 2, in a state paper, entitled "Answers to the most Christian King of France's Memorial," given to Thomas master of Erskine, ambassador to the court of France.

² This powerful and able nobleman, who was the head of the Catholic party in Scotland, had been taken prisoner in the battle of Pinkie, by Ralph Vane, (Anderson's MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 130, dorso,) but made his escape in 1548, and on his return to Scotland was restored to his office of chancellor. An interesting account of his escape will be found in Anderson's MS. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 130, 131.

Villemore was made comptroller, a place of high responsibility; and D'Osell, although placed in no office, became her confidential adviser in all matters of state.¹ These imprudent preferments excited a dissatisfaction, which was indeed smothered for the time, but afterwards broke out with fatal force against the regent.

In the meantime, the kingdom became disturbed in the north, where the fierce and powerful clan Ranald, under their leader John of Moydart, resumed their career of misrule and spoliation. The general policy hitherto pursued in these districts, was that introduced by James the Fourth. It was the practice of this monarch to keep the various clans in subordination by encouraging their mutual rivalry, and employing them as checks upon each other. In the event of any sept rising into a dangerous pre-eminence, or, as was not unusual, into open rebellion, one of the most powerful northern nobles, Athole, Huntley, or Argyle, was intrusted with a commission of lieutenancy; and, on repairing to the disturbed districts with an armed force, they engaged some of the rival clans to assist in putting down the insurrection. There can be no doubt that such commissions, of which the powers were indefinite, had been often abused to the purposes of individual ambition. The great lords looked for forfeitures of the lands of the Highland chiefs, to reward themselves and their followers; and, on many occasions, rather encouraged treason than promoted submission. It was a consequence of this miserable system, that these chiefs continued in rebellion not so much from any unwillingness to acknowledge the authority of the government, as from a dread of the influence and misrepresentations of their enemies.

¹ Keith's Eccl. Hist. pp. 69, 70. Lesley, pp. 250, 251. Anderson's MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 174, dorso.

In 1552, when the regent, Arran, and the queen-dowager held their court at Inverness, John of Moydart, the leader of the clan Ranald, had treated with proud contempt their summons to appear before them; and although Argyle afterwards promised to compel his attendance, or to expose him to the extremity of fire and sword, both the promise and the penalty appear to have been forgot. In 1554, he and his adherents once more bid defiance to the government; and Huntley, armed with a commission of lieutenancy, and leading an army chiefly composed of lowland barons, proceeded against him as far as Abertarff in Inverness-shire. His attempt, however, was singularly unsuccessful; for when it became necessary to pursue the daring outlaw into his mountain fastnesses, his lowland leaders declined acting in a country unsuited for cavalry; whilst his Highland auxiliaries reproached him for the execution of Mackintosh captain of the clan Chattan,¹ and showed such marked symptoms of disaffection, that Huntley deemed it prudent to conclude his inglorious expedition, and return to court.

His enemies eagerly seized this opportunity to conspire his ruin. His conduct, they contended, amounted to treason; and they insisted that nothing but Huntley's confidence in his exorbitant power could have induced him to have acted with such flagrant contempt of the orders which he had received from his sovereign. To such accusations the queen lent a willing ear. The earl was cast into prison, stripped of his high offices, and sentenced to be banished for five years to France.² When we consider the services so lately performed by Huntley, in the revolution

¹ Lesley, pp. 251, 252. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 893.

² Gregory's Hist. of the Western Highlands and Isles, pp. 183, 184.

which gave Mary of Guise the regency, it is difficult to understand the causes of that sudden resentment to which he fell a victim. That he had abused the high powers intrusted to him, in the administration of the northern counties, is not improbable; and his imperious demeanour had perhaps provoked the resentment of the queen's foreign advisers. One of these, Monsieur de Bontot, superseded him in his government of Orkney. De Rubay, we have already seen, in his character of vice-chancellor, had monopolized all the powers of the great seal, which properly belonged to Huntley as chancellor; and although he still kept the name of this office, and, by the payment of a heavy fine, procured the remission of his sentence of banishment, he remained stripped of his strength, and confined to the solitude of his estates.¹

Notwithstanding these occasional demonstrations of severity against her Scottish nobles, the exertions of the queen-regent were for some years successfully devoted to the maintenance of peace, and the promotion of the real welfare of the kingdom. Commissioners from England and Scotland met and established tranquillity upon the borders. She received assurances from Mary of England of her anxious desire for the preservation of friendly feelings between the two countries, and in return expressed a hope that this princess would not only be a "peace-keeper, but a peace-maker," in promoting a reconciliation between the French monarch and the emperor.²

At home a parliament assembled at Edinburgh,³ in

¹ He was compelled to resign some lucrative gifts of lands, particularly the earldoms of Mar and Moray.—Gregory's History, p. 184.

² State-paper Office, Mary to the Queen-regent, Jan. 12, 1553.—MS. letter, original draft. Also, State-paper Office, MS. letter, Lord Conyers to the Council. B.C. March 12, 1554-5, Berwick.

³ June 10, 1555.

which many wise and judicious laws were introduced for the abbreviation of legal processes, and the administration of equal justice throughout the country. Upon this subject, the regent was principally guided by the sage counsels of Henry Sinclair dean of Glasgow, a man of profound legal knowledge, and almost equal eminence as a scholar and a statesman.¹ It appears by one of these statutes, that the maintenance of French soldiers within the realm, a subject which proved subsequently a fertile source of revolt, had even then occasioned discontent. Another evinces the growth of that spirit of reform which too austere proscribed such unruly personages as Robin Hood, Little John, the Queen of May, and the Abbot of Unreason; and prohibited those ancient games and festivals in which women, “singing about summer trees,” (to adopt the poetic phraseology of the statute,) disturbed the queen and her lieges in their progress through the country.² From this statute we may infer that Mary of Guise was still disposed to favour the Protestant party, to whose support she owed much of her success; and had she been permitted to follow the dictates of her own good sense, her administration would have continued popular. But, unfortunately, the war between France and England, and the influence which her brothers, the princes of the house of Guise, had acquired over her mind, compelled her about this time to the adoption of a measure which occasioned amongst the minor barons and the great body of the people extreme jealousy and disgust. She proposed to take an inventory of every man’s estate and substance, and to impose a tax for the support of a large body of troops, which should serve instead of the usual national force com-

¹ Life of Sir Thomas Craig, pp. 79, 80, 81.

² Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 500.

posed of the barons and their feudal retainers. The idea, which was none other than a scheme for a standing army, originated with the French and some of the highest Scottish nobility ; but it met with a stern and prompt opposition. Three hundred barons and gentlemen assembled in the abbey church of Holyrood, and despatched the Lairds of Wemyss and Calder with their remonstrances to the regent. Their fathers, they said, had for many centuries defended their native country against every attack, with their faithful vassals and their good swords. It was the ancient custom of the realm : they held their lands by that tenure ; and as they trusted they had not degenerated from their ancestry, they besought the queen to use them as heretofore in that honourable service. Their monarch, they contended, was called King of Scots, with a special reference to his authority over the men, rather than over the substance of the country ; and loath should they be, they declared, to intrust to any waged and mercenary soldiers the protection of their wives, their children, and their hearths, when they were ready and able with their own hands to defend them at the peril of their lives. It evinced the good sense of the queen-regent that she instantly desisted from the project, and acknowledged her error in having ever proposed it.¹

This wise conduct was for some time followed by the triumph of pacific counsels in Scotland. The ablest amongst the clergy and the most influential of the nobility, both Catholic and Protestant, strongly advocated their adoption ; and commissioners having met, a treaty for the continuance of peace was concluded

¹ Lesley, p. 255. Keith, p. 71. Herries' Memoirs, pp. 29, 30. Anderson's M.S. History, vol. ii. pp. 181, 182.

between the two nations;¹ but war having broken out between France and Spain, a sudden revolution appears to have taken place in the mind of the queen-dowager. On the one part, she beheld the Spanish or imperial party in Italy, headed by Philip, and now, since his marriage with Mary, strengthened by the accession of England; on the other the pope supported by the French king.² To the latter side the daughter of the house of Guise naturally leant; and Henry the Second, aware of the importance of procuring such a diversion, omitted no effort to induce the regent to invade England. Encouraged by these symptoms of approaching hostilities, the Scottish borderers, who seldom waited for a declaration of war, broke violently across the marches, cruelly ravaged the country in successive inroads,³ and were only checked by a severe defeat which Lord Hume received at Blackbrey.⁴ D'Osell in the meantime, one of the dowager's foreign advisers, and lately ambassador from the French court, raised a fort at Eyemouth, near Berwick, anticipating a speedy visit from the English, who instantly attacked him. This was all that was required: war was denounced; and the queen-dowager having assembled an army at Kelso, proposed an immediate invasion. She was met by a positive and mortifying refusal. Chastelherault, Huntley, Cassillis, and Argyle, declared that the national honour had been amply asserted by the border successes during the preceding months; they were

¹ Lealey, pp. 258, 259. MS. letter, State-paper Office, 18th July, 1557. Earl of Westmoreland and the Bishop of Durham to Queen Mary.

² Lealey, pp. 258, 259.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Council to Lord Wharton, 29th July, 1557.

⁴ MS. 10th Nov. 1557, State-paper Office, B.C. Original minute, Names of the Gentlemen taken at the battle of Blackbrey; since printed by Mr Stevenson in his Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary, p. 70.

ready, they said, to act on the defensive, but to plunge into war during the minority of their sovereign, with the single object of assisting France, would be as injurious as it was uncalled for. All parties, except the queen-regent and the French auxiliaries, agreed in the wisdom of this conduct ; but the queen-regent was deeply incensed : she attempted to precipitate hostilities by commanding the foreigners to attack Wark, and having failed in this last resource, dismissed the army with expressions of anger and disgust.¹

It is from this moment that we may date that unhappy division between the queen-regent and the Scottish nobles, which formed afterwards one of the principal causes of the war of the Reformation. At present, however, religious differences did not enter into the dispute. The great object of Mary of Guise was to bridle the power of Chastelherault, Argyle, and Huntley, who had opposed the counsels of France ; and it is remarkable that, at this moment, James prior of St Andrews, styled by Lord Wharton, “one of the wisest of the late king’s base sons,” and afterwards the Regent Moray, made his appearance in public life as an adherent of the dowager. Sir William Kirkaldy, with young Maitland of Lethington the secretary, a man of great talents and ambition, espoused the same faction ; and it was proposed to recall, secretly, into Scotland the Earl of Lennox and the Lady Margaret Douglas, whose restoration to their former rank and power might prove, it was hoped, an effectual counterpoise to the influence of their opponents.²

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Lord Wharton to the Council, 14th Nov. 1557, Berwick. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 900. Lesley, Hist. pp. 260, 261. Anderson’s MS. Hist. pp. 184, 185.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Lord Wharton to the Council, 14th Nov. 1557.

Some unforeseen impediments, however, interrupted the execution of this scheme, and the regent had recourse to a more effectual mode of strengthening her influence. A parliament assembled at Edinburgh,¹ in which a letter was presented from the King of France, earnestly recommending that the intended marriage between the dauphin and the young Queen of Scots should be carried into effect. He requested that commissioners should be sent over to give the sanction of their presence to this solemnity ; and, in compliance with his wishes, Beaton the Archbishop of Glasgow, Reid president of the Session, Cassillis lord high-treasurer, the Lords Fleming and Seton, with the Prior of St Andrews, and Erskine of Dun, the leaders of the Protestant party, were chosen to execute this important mission. They were instructed not to consent to the marriage until they had obtained from the queen and the dauphin a promise, in the most ample form, for the preservation of the integrity of the kingdom, and the observation of its ancient laws and liberties. The young queen and her husband were to be required at the same time to grant a commission for a regent, to whom the supreme power was to be delegated.

The commissioners, after a perilous passage, in which two of their convoy were wrecked, disembarked at Boulogne, and proceeding to the French court, received an honourable reception, and found a ready compliance with all their demands. Having secured, as they imagined, the rights of the kingdom, they proceeded to arrange the conditions of the marriage.² It was provided that the eldest son of the marriage should be King of France and Scotland ; the dauphin, by consent

¹ Dec. 14, 1557.

² This was on 19th April, 1558. Keith, Hist. pp. 72, 73. Ibid. Appendix, p. 13.

of the French king his father, and the queen his consort, was to bear the name and title of King of Scotland; to be allowed to quarter the arms of that crown with his own; and, on his accession to the throne of France, to assume the title and arms of both kingdoms united under one crown. In the event of there being only daughters of the marriage, the eldest was to be Queen of Scotland; to have, as a daughter of France, a portion of four hundred thousand crowns; and to be disposed of in marriage with the united consent of the estates of Scotland and the King of France. The jointure of the young queen was fixed at six hundred thousand livres if her husband died after his accession to the throne; but if she became a widow when he was dauphin, it was to be reduced to half that sum. Lastly, the commissioners agreed, immediately after the marriage, to swear fealty to the dauphin, in the name of the estates of Scotland, and on the ground that their sovereign the dauphiness was his consort.¹ These preliminaries having been arranged, the marriage was solemnized at Paris by the Cardinal Bourbon, in the cathedral church of Notre Dame. It completed the almost despotic power of the house of Guise; and the proud princes of this family, who saw their niece, already a queen, now promoted to the rank of dauphiness, were solicitous to impart to the ceremony all imaginable splendour. The King and Queen of France, four cardinals, the princes of the blood, and the flower of the French nobility surrounded the altar; and the classic genius of Buchanan hailed the event in an epithalamium, which is one of the sweetest effusions of his muse.

¹ Keith, Appendix, p. 21. “A cause de la dite Dame Reyne Dauphine nostre Souveraine, son Espouse et Compaigne.” The meaning is, that they swear fealty to the dauphin as the husband of their queen.

Such were the outward forms which preceded and accompanied this important union, and in appearance the conduct of the French court was fair and honourable; but another, and a far different scene of Guisean treachery and ambition had been acting within the recesses of the cabinet. Ten days previous to her marriage, three papers were presented to the young queen. By the first, she made over her kingdom of Scotland, in free gift, to the King of France, if she died childless; by the second, drawn up to meet the very probable case of a resistance by the Scots to so extraordinary a transfer, she assigned to the same monarch the possession of her kingdom, till he should be reimbursed in the sum of a million pieces of eight, or any such greater sum as he should have expended upon her education in France; and by the last she was made to declare, that these two deeds contained the genuine sense of her mind, whatever might appear to the contrary in any declarations which she should publish, in compliance with the desire of her parliament.¹ These secret deeds the Guises induced their niece to sign: she was only fifteen, completely under their influence, and probably dreamt not of resistance; but when they brought the Scottish commissioners before the French council, and required them not only to swear fealty to the king-dauphin, but to agree that he should receive the ensigns of royalty, they were met in this step of their ambition by a peremptory refusal: "Our instructions," said the ambassadors, "are distinct, and embrace no such matter, and even if free, it is little the part of faithful friends to name to us a proposal, which, if agreed to, would cover us with infamy."²

¹ Keith, p. 74.

² Maitland, p. 903.

Disguising their resentment, the princes of the house of Guise requested that the commissioners would at least support their interests in the parliament ; and the Scottish prelates and nobles set out on their return. On reaching Dieppe, Reid the Bishop of Orkney, one of the wisest and most upright men in Scotland, died suddenly on the 6th of September ; after two days, he was followed to the grave by the Earl of Rothes ; Cassillis, within a very brief interval, was seized with a similar illness, which carried him off ; Fleming did not long survive him ; and although no infectious disease was then prevalent in the country, several of their retinue sickened and expired. It was not surprising that men should connect these circumstances with the scenes lately acted at Paris ; and there arose a suspicion that the commissioners were poisoned by the Duke of Guise and his brothers, who had thus determined to get rid of an influence which they knew would be exerted against them.¹ The Archbishop of Glasgow, the Prior of St Andrews, Lord Seton, and the Laird of Dun, continuing their voyage, arrived in Scotland in October, and the queen-regent immediately summoned a parliament, which assembled at Edinburgh in the beginning of December.

Its proceedings were brief, but important. On receiving from the surviving ambassadors an account of their mission, the three estates approved and ratified their transactions. It was agreed at the same time, that the crown matrimonial should be given to the dauphin ; that he should have the name of King of Scotland, during the continuance of the marriage ; that all letters in Scotland should henceforth run in the style of “ Francis and Mary, King and Queen of

¹ Keith, p. 75. MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 10th August, 1560. Ibid. Ledington to Cecil, 15th August, 1560.

Scotland, Dauphin and Dauphiness of Vienne," and that the great seal of the kingdom and the current money of the realm should be changed.¹ During the progress of these negotiations, hostilities with England had continued, and the war between that country and France was carried on with signal success upon the side of the Duke of Guise, whose arms were crowned with the long coveted conquest of Calais. But this triumph was soon after followed by the death of Mary of England, and the accession of Elizabeth to the throne ; an event which occasioned an immediate change in the councils of that kingdom, and produced consequences especially worthy of attention.

It is well known, that this great princess commenced her reign by the complete establishment of the Reformation in her own dominions, and by placing herself at the head of the Protestant party in Europe. Indifferent herself to religion, as far as it influences the individual character, she hated the Puritans, and was attached to the pomp and show of prelacy. But her masculine understanding had early detected the errors of the Roman Catholic faith : her mind, naturally imperious, refused equally to acknowledge in man a spiritual or a temporal superior ; and her discernment, aided by the counsels of the far-reaching Cecil, taught her, that to continue faithful to the principles of the Reformation offered the best hopes for the preservation of peace, the restoration of her exhausted finances, and the security of her kingdom. At home, two great principles regulated her government : a determination to avoid war even at considerable sacrifices, and to enforce, in every department of the state, a rigid economy. To the great majority of her subjects, her

¹ Lesley, p. 268. Keith, p. 77.

accession to the throne was a joyful event ; yet Elizabeth was aware that a large proportion of the people, far larger indeed than is commonly imagined, were still attached to the ancient faith, and she was naturally jealous of every thing that tended to increase the political power of Rome. Whilst she thus carefully watched the state of the two parties within her own dominions, she saw on the continent the same struggle of opinion dividing the leading states into two great factions ; and by skilfully balancing them against each other, she contrived to keep them too much occupied at home, to be able to give her any serious annoyance. The loss of Calais, which for two centuries had been in the possession of England, and still more, the resolution on the part of the Guises to assert the title of their niece, the Queen of Scotland, to the English throne, in exclusion of Elizabeth, whom they pronounced illegitimate, were circumstances calculated to rouse the indignation of this princess. At a future period she clearly showed, that Mary's assumption of the arms of England, whilst still Queen of France, had not been forgotten by her ; but, for the present, policy got the better of resentment, and after having declined a proposal, upon the part of the French monarch, to enter into a private and separate peace, she became a party to the public treaty concluded between France and Spain, at Chateau Cambresis (25th May, 1559).¹

Her chief difficulties lay on the side of Scotland. In her instructions to the Bishop of Ely, Lord William Howard, and Dr Nicholas Wotton, whom she sent, soon after her accession, to negotiate the treaty with

¹ MS. State-paper Office, Original oath signed by Elizabeth, to observe the treaty of Chateau Cambresis. French Correspondence, May, 1559, and attestation of the taking the oath, by Sir W. Cecil, Ibid.

France, we find her laying down the principle, that peace with Scotland is of greater consequence than peace with France, and that unless the Scots should be included, it were needless to continue the negotiations.¹

Nor did the queen-regent appear unwilling to meet these advances: she despatched her able secretary, Maitland of Lethington, to assist at the conferences in France;² and at the same time that a pacification was concluded between England, France, and Spain,³ a separate treaty for the cessation of hostilities was entered into between England and Scotland.⁴ It was declared, that from this time a firm and lasting peace should be concluded between the two countries; that, to remove all ground of controversy, Eyemouth, and the new fortifications raised by the king-dauphin and the Queen of Scots, should be destroyed, and that all castles or strengths lately built by the English on the borders, should be cast down. Some minor points were reserved for the determination of commissioners, sent mutually by both kingdoms; and these envoys having met at Norham, (31st May, 1559,) the negotiations were brought to a successful termination.⁵

¹ MS. State-paper Office. Instructions to Lord Wm. Howard, Thomas Thirlby bishop of Ely, and Dr Wotton, 28th Feb. 1558-9. Sir J. Williamson's Collection, first series, vol. xix. p. 433, in Cecil's handwriting, corrected by the queen. See also Forbes' State Papers, vol. i. p. 59.

² MS. State-paper Office, Queen-dowager to Elizabeth, March 4, 1558-9.

³ 2d April, 1559.

⁴ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 513. *Ibid.* p. 527. Also, MS. Instructions of Elizabeth to Lord William Howard; Lord Howard of Effingham, Dr Wotton, and Sir N. Throgmorton, 6th May, 1559, State-paper Office; Sir J. Williamson's Collection, vol. xix. p. 419; also letter of Elizabeth to Mary of Guise, 30th May, 1559, State-paper Office.

⁵ MSS. Treasurer's Accounts in Register Office, Edinburgh, under March 3, 1558-9: To William Maitland of Lethington, passing to London and France in the Queen's Grace's affairs, £750.

Elizabeth had thus apparently accomplished the object which she so much desired; yet she knew too well the internal state of France, and the seeds of division which had been planted in Scotland, to rely on the continuance of amicable relations: the strong footing which the French had already gained in that kingdom, the late marriage of the young queen with the dauphin, and the vast ambition of the house of Guise, rendered her anxious to adopt every method for the strengthening of the Protestant cause, and the dismissal of the French auxiliaries from the service of the queen-dowager. But before we attempt to fathom her deep and somewhat unscrupulous policy for the attainment of these objects, it becomes necessary to look back for a moment, that we may trace the progress of the Reformation in Scotland.

The history of this great revolution in the history of the human mind, is in Scotland connected almost exclusively with one extraordinary man—the intrepid and unbending Knox. When we last parted with him, it was after the surrender of the castle of St Andrews, (1547,) when he and other fellow-sufferers were carried prisoners aboard the galleys, into France. After a long and tedious captivity, he regained his liberty, (1550,) in consequence of the intercession of Edward the Sixth with the French monarch,¹ and having repaired to England, he found himself cordially welcomed and supported by the ministers of the young sovereign. Here he willingly gave his powerful aid to Cranmer, in the establishment of that reformation which had been left imperfect by Henry the Eighth; but the sudden death of the king, and the accession of

¹ The proofs of this fact will be found in a work which the author published in 1839, "England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary," vol. i. p. 295.

Mary, compelled him to fly to the continent. During his exile, he was called to be minister of the English refugees at Frankfort; but his attachment to the doctrines of Calvin, with whom he had formed an intimate friendship, made it impossible for him to adopt the principles of those who preferred the service book of Edward the Sixth to the more simple, and, as it appeared to Knox, the more scriptural form of Presbyterian worship, which at first, in compliance with their wishes, he had introduced amongst them. Religious dissensions arose. Dr Cox, who had been tutor to Edward, vehemently contended for the service book. His party became all powerful; and the Scottish reformer, driven from his pulpit, and accused by his opponents of treason against the emperor, once more retreated into his native country, and took up his residence in the capital. Before leaving the continent, he had again visited Calvin, at Geneva. The conversation of this celebrated man, then in the height of his reputation, confirmed Knox in his affection to that form of worship which had been established at Geneva. His solitary reflections in exile, and under persecution, had, as we learn from his eloquent and pathetic letters, assumed an extraordinary bitterness of self-reproach: they seemed to upbraid him as one who had fled from the fold, and deserted his flock, when the spiritual conflict most required his presence; and he returned to Scotland in 1555, with the stern resolution to "spare no arrows," to abide at his post, and to sacrifice every thing for the complete establishment of the Reformation, according to those principles which he believed to be founded on the Word of God.

During his absence from his native country, the persecutions of Mary had driven some of the reformers to take refuge in Scotland. Harlow, originally a

tradesman in the lower ranks of life, but afterwards a zealous preacher under Edward the Sixth, took up his abode in Ayrshire, and assembled around him a little congregation ; John Willock, a Scottish Franciscan friar, who had been converted to Protestantism, and afterwards admitted a chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, was another of these labourers. He had been sent twice, in 1555 and 1558, on missions from the Duchess of Friesland, in whose dominions he had sought refuge, to the queen-regent ; and as his affability, moderation, and address, were equal to his learning and piety, he was received with distinction, and privately permitted to address his exhortations to all who were anxious for instruction.

The second arrival of Willock gave a great impulse to the cause of the Reformation. "The images," says Knox, "were stolen away in all parts of the country ; and in Edinburgh, that great idol called St Giles was first drowned in the North Loch, and afterwards burnt, which raised no small trouble in the town." Notwithstanding this marked demonstration, it was resolved by the queen-regent and the bishops, that the usual procession appointed for the saint's day should not be omitted ; and having procured another image from the Grey Friars, and fixed it to a wooden barrow, which was borne on men's shoulders, the cavalcade, headed by the regent herself, surrounded by priests and canons, and attended by tabors and trumpets, proceeded down the High Street towards the cross. The sight inflamed the passions of the Protestants ; and various bands of the citizens, abhorring what they esteemed an abomination, resolved upon revenge. Nor was it long before this was accomplished : for scarce had the queen-dowager retired, when some of these, under pretence of assisting the bearers, caught hold of the barrow,

cast down the image, and dashed it to pieces on the pavement ; and then (I use Knox's words) “ the priests and friars fled faster than they did at Pinkie-cleuch : down go the crosses, off go the surplices, round caps, coronets, with the crowns. The Grey friars gaped, the Black friars blew, the priests panted and fled, and happy was he that first gat the house, for such a sudden fray came never among the generation of Antichrist, within this realm before.”¹

Yet although some progress had been made, and Knox hailed with gratitude the co-operation of Willock, it was with feelings of astonishment, bordering upon horror, that he found the friends of the Protestant opinions unresolved upon the great question, whether it was their duty openly to separate from the Roman Catholic church. Many of them continued still to sanction by their presence the celebration of the mass ; and as the queen-dowager had found it necessary, in the prosecution of her political objects, to extend her favour to the Protestants, they were anxious to stretch their conformity to the national church, as far, perhaps even farther, than their consciences permitted. The discourses of the reformer, who at first preached privately to a few friends in the house of James Syme, a burgess of Edinburgh, soon threw a new light upon the danger of such concessions.² Men's consciences became alarmed. A solemn disputation was held upon the point between Maitland of Lethington and Knox. The secretary, a man of remarkable learning and ingenuity, exerted his powers to defend the practice which he and his brethren had adopted. But Knox, deeply read in the Scriptures, undaunted in his adherence to what

¹ Knox, p. 104.

² Knox, pp. 98, 99. Keith, p. 64. M'Crie, vol. i. p. 176.

he esteemed the truth, and master of a familiar and fervid eloquence, which was adapted to the age and the audience, triumphed over his more elegant and subtle disputant. Maitland acknowledged his error; the practice was renounced; and it was agreed by the congregation which now surrounded the Reformer, that a public and formal separation must henceforth be made from the Catholic church in Scotland.¹

Amongst his hearers and followers at this time (1555) we find some men who became afterwards noted in the history of their country: Erskine of Dun, a baron of ancient family, whose learning was superior to the times; Sir James Sandilands, commonly called Lord St John, a veteran in his adherence to the Reformation; Archibald lord Lorn, afterwards Earl of Argyle; the Master of Mar; the Lord James, afterwards regent; the Earl of Glencairn, and the Earl Marshal, were usually present at his sermons, and ardent admirers of his doctrine. At length the Catholic clergy, hitherto unaccountably indifferent, roused themselves from their lethargy, and Knox was summoned to appear before an ecclesiastical convention in the capital.² He repaired to Edinburgh, prepared to defend his principles, and to his astonishment found the diet deserted, and his pulpit surrounded, not by his accusers, but by crowds of affectionate and zealous disciples, to whom for a short season he was permitted to preach without interruption or disturbance. This liberty he probably owed to the toleration of the queen-regent; but when, at the request of the Earl Marshal, he carried his boldness so far as to

¹ McCrie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 177. Anderson's MS. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 173, 174. The disputation was held at a supper given by the Laird of Dun.

² Anderson's MS. Hist. p. 175.

address to this daughter of the house of Guise a letter, in which he exhorted her not only to protect the reformed preachers, but to lend a favourable ear to their doctrine, he found his propositions received with derision and contempt. Receiving his letter from Glencairn, and glancing carelessly over it, the dowager handed it to the Archbishop of Glasgow, asking him if his lordship was solicitous to read a *pasquil*; a mode of proceeding which the Reformer treated afterwards with uncommon severity.¹

At this critical period, when rejoicing in the success of his preaching, and congratulating himself that the time of the church's deliverance was drawing nigh, Knox received an invitation to become pastor of the reformed congregation at Geneva; and the readiness with which he obeyed the summons is an inexplicable circumstance in his life.² Although his labours had been singularly rewarded, the infant congregation which he had gathered round him still required his nurture and protection. During his last journey into Angus, the threatenings of the friars and bishops had increased, and the clouds of persecution were seen gathering around him. The state of the Reformation at Geneva, on the contrary, was prosperous. He had before bitterly upbraided himself for deserting his appointed charge in the hour of peril, yet he now repeated the same conduct, left his native country, and settled with his family on the continent. It was in vain to tell his followers, as he did, that if they continued in godliness, whenever they pleased they might command his return. They were continuing in the truth, as he has himself informed us, and they earnestly but unsuccessfully endeavoured to detain

¹ M'Crie's Life, vol. i. p. 188.

² Keith, p. 65.

him. The rage, indeed, of his opponents was about to assume at this time a deadly aspect. They had delated him to the queen as an enemy to magistrates, as well as a seducer of the people, and possibly by retiring he saved his life;¹ but judging with all charity, it must be admitted, that whilst his writings at this season had all the impassioned zeal, his conduct betrayed some want of the ardent courage, of the martyr.

His retreat had an immediate and unfavourable effect on the progress of the new opinions. The bishops and the friars increased in boldness and violence. Knox, whose personal encounter they dreaded, now that his appearance was impossible, received a summons to stand his trial; condemnation followed, and he was burnt in effigy at the high cross of the capital.² Previous to his departure, the Reformer exhorted his followers to continue their private meetings, which he said they ought to open and conclude with prayer, to read the Scriptures, and to listen to the word of exhortation from any experienced brother, provided his instructions were given with modesty and a desire to edify. Such directions they willingly obeyed; and secure in the countenance and protection of the queen-mother, who at this time courted their assistance, they became less the objects of jealousy and persecution to their adversaries of the Catholic faith. Nor were they long left without preachers. In the year succeeding

¹ Such is the opinion of his late able biographer Dr M'Crie. Anderson's MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 175, dorso. In a collection of manuscript letters relative to Scottish history, in the possession of Mr Dawson Turner, and which the kindness of that gentleman permitted me to look over, there is an anonymous paper, entitled "The Apology of our Departure," which appears to me to be the composition of the Reformer at this interesting crisis. It proves that Knox fled for fear of his life.

² In 1556.

the retirement of Knox, John Douglas, a converted Carmelite friar, who was chaplain to the Earl of Argyle, not only addressed a private congregation, but spoke openly at the court, against some superstitions of the times. Paul Methven, originally a tradesman, began to teach in Dundee; others exhorted the people in Angus and Mearns; and the Roman clergy taking alarm, so far succeeded in working upon the fears of the regent, that she issued a proclamation summoning the preachers to answer for their conduct. This they prepared instantly to obey; but the gentlemen of the west of Scotland, who formed the chief part of their congregations, resolved to accompany them to their trial, and many already had arrived in the capital; when the queen, dreading a tumult, commanded all who had no express exemption, to repair for fifteen days to the borders. Far from submitting to an order of which they easily detected the object, the barons surrounded the palace, obtained an audience, and in reply to the remonstrances of the regent, thus addressed her:—“We know, madam, that this is the device of the bishops who now stand beside you. We avow to God we shall make a day of it. They oppress us and our poor tenants to feed themselves; they trouble our ministers, and seek to undo them and us all. We will not suffer it any longer.” This bold address was delivered by Chalmers of Gathgirth, one of the barons of the west; and it is said, as he concluded it, his companions, who had hitherto been uncovered, with an air of defiance put on their steel caps. The regent was intimidated, declared that she meant no violence against their teachers, revoked the proclamation, and promised to be herself the judge of the controversy.¹

¹ Knox's Hist. p. 103. Spottiswood, B. ii. p. 94. Keith, p. 65.

This success, and a period of tranquillity which succeeded to it, emboldened the leaders of the reform party, the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Lorn son of the Earl of Argyle, Erskine of Dun, and the Prior of St Andrews, afterwards the celebrated Regent Moray, to request the return of Knox to his native country. In a letter addressed to the Reformer, they informed him that the "faithful of his acquaintance were steadfast to the belief in which he had left them; that they thirsted for his presence, and were ready to jeopard their lives for the glory of God. Little cruelty," they observed, "had been used against them; the influence of the friars was decreasing, and they had good hopes that God would augment his flock."

Obeying this invitation, Knox resigned his charge at Geneva, and arriving at Dieppe, on his way to Scotland, was met there, to his grief and mortification, by letters which arrested his journey. They stated, that the zeal of the reformers had suddenly cooled; that many, contented with the toleration they enjoyed, preferred the security of worshipping God in private, according to their conscience, to the peril attending a public reformation; and that the scheme which had given rise to their letter had been precipitately abandoned. It did not belong to the disposition or principles of the Reformer to bear this vacillating conduct in silence. He addressed to them an immediate and indignant remonstrance; urged upon them the sacred duty of accomplishing the great work which they had begun; assured them, that although dangers and trials must be met with in its prosecution, their relinquishing it would not save them from the most tyrannical proscription; and concluded by reminding them, that so vitally important a matter as the reformation of religion belonged to them, the nobility,

even more than to the clergy or chief rulers called kings.¹

This epistle, which was accompanied by a detailed address to the nobles, and by private letters to Erskine of Dun and Wishart of Pitarrow, two leading men amongst the reformers, produced an astonishing effect. The lords deplored their weakness; a new impulse was given to the cause; zeal and resolution animated their repentant followers; and on the 3d of December, 1557, that memorable bond or covenant was drawn up, which henceforth united the Protestants under one great association, which was subscribed immediately by their principal supporters, and could not be deserted without something like apostacy. It described, in no mild or measured terms, the bishops and ministers of the Roman Catholic church as members of Sathan, who sought to destroy the gospel of Christ and his followers; and declared, that they felt it to be their duty to strive in their Master's cause even unto death—certain as they were of victory in Him. For this purpose it declared that they had entered into a solemn promise in the presence of “the majesty of God and his Congregation,” to set forward and establish with their whole power and substance his blessed Word, to labour to have faithful ministers, to defend them, at the peril of their lives and goods, against all tyranny; and it concluded by anathematizing their adversaries, and denouncing vengeance against all the superstition, idolatry, and abominations of the Roman church.²

This bond, which was drawn up at Edinburgh, received the signatures of the Earls of Glencairn, Argyle, Morton, Lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, and many others.

¹ Keith, pp. 65, 66.

² Keith, p. 66. Knox's Hist. p. 110.

It was evidently an open declaration of war against the established religion : toleration and compromise were at an end ; and their next step showed that the Congregation, for so the reformers now named themselves, were determined to commence their proceedings in earnest. They passed a resolution, declaring "that in all parishes of the realm, the common prayers," (by which was meant the service book of Edward the Sixth,) ¹ "should be read weekly, on Sunday and other festival days, in the parish churches, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, conform to the order of the Book of Common Prayer ; and that, if the curates of parishes be qualified, they shall be caused to read the same ;" but if they refuse, then the most qualified in the parish were directed to supply their place. It was resolved at the same time, that "doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scripture be used privately in quiet houses, avoiding great conventions of the people thereto, until such time as God should move the prince to grant public preaching by true and faithful ministers."²

These resolutions the Lords of the Congregation proceeded to put in execution in such places as were under their power. The Earl of Argyle encouraged Douglas his chaplain to preach openly in his house ; other barons imitated his example ; a second invitation was addressed to Knox,³ requesting his immediate presence amongst them, and a deep alarm seized the whole body of the Roman clergy. They represented, not unreasonably, the declarations of the Congregation, and their subsequent conduct, as acts bordering upon treason ; the Catholic faith, they said, was still the established religion of the state ; it enjoyed the sanc-

¹ This will be afterwards proved.

² Keith, p. 66. Knox, p. 111.

³ November, 1558.

tion of the laws, and the protection of the sovereign ; and it was now openly attacked, and attempted to be subverted by a private association of men, who, although no ways recognized by the constitution, had assumed the power of legislation. To what this might grow it was difficult to say ; but it was impossible to view so bold a denunciation of the national religion without apprehension and dismay.¹

These remonstrances were addressed to the queen-regent at that critical season when the marriage between her daughter and the dauphin, although proposed in the Scottish parliament, had not been fully agreed to. It was necessary for her to manage matters warily with the principal nobles, and she expressed a steadfast disinclination to all extreme measures against the Congregation. The Archbishop of St Andrews also, a prelate whose character partook nothing of cruelty, though his morals were loose, addressed an admonitory letter to Argyle, persuading him to dismiss his heretical chaplain, promising to supply his place with a learned and Catholic instructor, complaining of the reproaches to which his ecclesiastical lenity had exposed him, and insinuating that repeated provocations might compel him, as the spiritual guardian of the church, to adopt a severer course.² Nor was it long before this severity was experienced, although there seems good ground for believing that the prelate was innocent of having instigated it. Walter Miln, a parish priest of Lunan, in Angus, had early embraced the doctrines of the Reformation ; and having been seized and condemned as a heretic in the time of Beaton, was so fortunate as to escape from prison and remain in concealment in his native country. Encou-

¹ Cook, vol. ii. p. 35. Spottiswood, p. 117.
² March, 1558.

raged by the subsequent leniency of the queen-dowager, this venerable minister, who was past eighty, had openly preached to the people; but the severity of the clergy again compelled him to seek his lurking-places, and being discovered at this time, he was tried for heresy at St Andrews, and condemned to be burnt. From his feeble frame and great age it was expected that he would say little in his defence; but the old man exhibited uncommon spirit; and so deeply moved were all who heard his pathetic and ardent appeal, that after the clergy had pronounced him guilty, no secular judge could be found to pass sentence. The odious office, however, was at last performed by a dissolute retainer of the archbishop; and he was led to the stake amid the tears and sympathy of an immense multitude, who execrated the cruelty of which he was the victim. Even when surrounded by the flames, he yet asserted that the cause for which he sacrificed his life was the defence of the truth of Jesus Christ. "As for myself," said he, "I am fourscore and two years old, and cannot live long by the course of nature; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones: and I trust in God I am the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause."¹ And his wishes were happily fulfilled: he was the last victim in that country of a cruel and short-sighted persecution. (April, 1558.)

This execution was viewed by the people with horror, and excited the utmost indignation in the leaders of the Congregation. They remonstrated in firm terms to the queen-regent; and when this princess assured them that she was no party to such sanguinary proceedings, their whole animosity was directed against

¹ M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 234. Knox, p. 30. Spottiswood, p. 95.

the clergy. Emissaries, commissioned by the reformers, travelled through the country, exposing the superstition, wickedness, and injustice of such conduct; many of the lesser barons, and the greater part of the towns, joined the party; a majority of the people declared themselves ready to support the cause, and the Protestant lords presented an address to the dowager, in which they claimed redress at her hands "of the unjust tyranny used against them by those called the estate ecclesiastical."¹ "Your grace," said they, "cannot be ignorant what controversy hath been and yet is, concerning the true religion and right worshipping of God, and how the clergy (as they will be termed) usurp to themselves such empire over the consciences of men, that whatsoever they command must be obeyed, and whatsoever they forbid avoided, without respect to God's pleasure revealed in his Word, or else there abideth nothing for us but fagot, fire, and sword." They then noticed the cruel executions of their brethren, and declared that, although at the time they had neither defended these martyrs nor demanded a redress of their wrongs, they were now convinced that, as "a part of that power which God had established in the realm, it was their duty either to have protected them from such extremity, or to have borne along with them open testimony to their faith. It was evident," they said, "that abuses had now grown to such a head that a public reformation was necessary, as well in religion as in the temporal government of the state; and they therefore implored her grace and her grave council, whom they willingly acknowledged as the only authority placed in the realm for the correction of ecclesiastical and civil disorders, that she would listen to their

¹ Keith, p. 78.

requests, unless by God's Word it could be shown that they were unjust and ought to be denied.”¹ The following requisitions were appended to the supplication; they were drawn up with force and clearness, and involved, if granted, a complete reformation. It was demanded, first, That the Congregation should be allowed to meet in public or in private, to hear common prayers in the vulgar tongue, that they might increase in knowledge, and be led with all fervour and sincerity to offer up their petitions for the universal church, the queen their sovereign and her royal consort, the regent, and the whole estates of the realm: secondly, That it should be lawful for any one present, who was well qualified in knowledge, to interpret any obscure passages in the Scriptures which should be read: thirdly, That Baptism and the Lord's Supper should be administered in the vulgar tongue, and this last sacrament in both kinds according to our Saviour's institution: and lastly, That the present wicked and scandalous lives of the clergy should be reformed, in obedience to the rules contained in the New Testament, the writings of the Fathers, and the godly laws of the emperor Justinian,—which three standards they were willing should decide the controversy between them and the Romish clergy.²

These proposals, and the supplication which introduced them, although expressed with apparent moderation, could not be viewed without alarm by the queen-dowager. The Lords of the Congregation acknowledged her, indeed, as the sole constituted authority within the realm, yet, with some inconsistency, they not only represented themselves as part of that power which God had established, but declared

¹ Keith, pp. 78, 79. Knox, Hist. p. 127.

² Spottiswood, book iii. p. 119. Keith, p. 80. Knox, p. 129.

it to have been pusillanimous in them not to have actively interfered in defence of their brethren, against the tyranny by which they had been oppressed. As barons of parliament, they were certainly part of the established power in the realm; but to have defended their oppressed brethren by any faction or assembly out of parliament, would have been unconstitutional and illegal. Again, when in their first petition they asked permission to use the common prayers in the vulgar tongue, we know, by certain evidence, that the service book of King Edward was here meant; but when they required that any lay person, sufficiently learned, should be allowed in their meetings to interpret obscure passages, they appear to have demanded a liberty unknown to the most zealous Presbyterians of the present day.

However unpalatable such requests might be, it did not suit the views of Mary of Guise to give them a decided refusal. The marriage between her daughter and the dauphin had indeed been concluded, but at this moment she required all the influence of the Protestant lords in parliament to obtain the crown matrimonial, and the title of king, for the dauphin. When, therefore, the petition was presented to her at Holyrood House, by Sir James Sandilands the preceptor of the Knights of St John, she received it with respect, promised them that their proposals should have her anxious consideration, and in the meantime assured them of her protection.¹

Very different were the effects produced by this conduct on the Catholic clergy and the Lords of the Congregation. Grateful for her forbearance, and relying upon her promises, the Protestants abstained

¹ Knox's History, pp. 126, 130. M'Crie's Knox, vol. i. p. 236. Keith, p. 80.

from all public exercise of their religion, and silenced one of their ministers who attempted to preach at Leith. But the Romanists arraigned the pusillanimity of the regent in condescending to temporize with heretics ; and in a convention which was held at Edinburgh soon after, loaded Erskine of Dun, who supported the claims of the Congregation, with mingled threats and reproaches.¹

Yet, after further consideration, they made some advances towards a compromise. The terms, however, were such as the Protestants could not accept. It was insisted that the mass, purgatory, prayers to saints and for the dead, should remain parts of the established creed of the church, which if they granted, the reformers were to be allowed to pray and baptize in the vulgar tongue, provided these innovations were confined to their private assemblies.²

In the parliament which assembled at Edinburgh, in December 1558, (when, as we have already seen, the three estates received from the ambassadors who had returned from France an account of their proceedings,) the leaders of the Congregation presented a supplication, to which they annexed some important requests, in their own name and that of their brethren. They desired that all acts of parliament by which churchmen were empowered to proceed against heretics should be suspended until the present controversies in religion were determined by a general council of the church ; and that, in the meantime, churchmen should be permitted only to accuse, but not to judge. Lest, however, this should seem to countenance licentiousness of opinion on sacred subjects, it was requested that all such as were accused of heresy should be carried before

¹ Keith, p. 80.

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² Knox, pp. 129, 130.

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a temporal judge, should be permitted to speak in their defence, to state objections to witnesses, and to explain their own belief; nor ought they, it was added, to be condemned, unless proved by the Word of God to have erred from that faith which is necessary to salvation.¹ On presenting these articles to the regent, she exerted all her influence to avert their immediate discussion in parliament. This, she contended, would be followed by exasperation on the part of the clergy, which might be fatal to the attainment of those great political objects for which she and the Protestant lords were alike anxious. "Let them," she said, "but wait for a brief season, and all their wishes might be accomplished; but at present it was evident, that such a debate as was likely to follow their introduction would be dangerous and premature."

Convinced by such a representation, or at least anxious to avoid all appearance of obstinacy or precipitation, the Lords withdrew their Articles, and contented themselves with presenting a protestation, which was read in parliament. In this solemn instrument, they alluded to the controversy which had of late years arisen between those called prelates and rulers in the church, and the nobles and commons of the realm, regarding the worship of God, the duty of ministers, and the right administration of the sacraments; they had already repeatedly complained, they said, that their consciences were burdened with unprofitable ceremonies and many idolatrous abuses, and it was their intention to have sought in this present parliament the redress of such enormities. This resolution the troubles of the time had compelled them for a season to delay. Yet, fearful lest their silence

¹ Keith, p. 81.

should be misinterpreted, they now protested, that since they could not at present obtain a just reformation, it should be lawful for them to use themselves in matters of religion and conscience as they must answer to God, and in the true faith which is grounded upon Holy Scripture: and this without incurring any danger of life and lands, for the neglect or contravening of such acts as had been passed in favour of their adversaries. In conclusion, they declared, that no blame ought to attach to them if any tumult or uproar should arise among the subjects of the realm on account of diversity of religion, or if it happened that those abuses which had been so long neglected should at last be summarily or violently reformed.¹ It is obvious, from the terms of this energetic paper, that the Congregation felt their own strength, and did not shut their eyes to those calamitous results, in which a continuance of religious persecution might possibly involve the country. They were anxious for a quiet and temperate reform of those ceremonies which they alleged did violence to their conscience, and it was their wish to see removed, without any public tumult, the general profligacy which degraded the hierarchy; but it is also evident, that they foresaw the probability of resistance, and were prepared to meet it; nor were they to be terrified into a renunciation of their belief, by the prospect of any sufferings which awaited themselves or their country. They had prepared themselves for the worst—and it was fortunate they had done so; for at this crisis, the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, and the alteration in the policy of the Guises, produced a sudden revolution in the mind of the queen-regent.

¹ Spottiswood, pp. 120, 121. Knox, pp. 133, 134.

This princess, to resume the course of our history,¹ was now possessed of the great objects to which all her efforts had been so long directed. She had obtained the supreme power; her daughter the queen was married to the dauphin, and the title of King of Scotland and the crown matrimonial had been solemnly conferred upon him by the Scottish parliament. For the attainment of these objects she had been greatly indebted to the assistance of the Protestant leaders. But she was also under obligations to France, especially to her brothers, the princes of the house of Guise; and these ambitious and unscrupulous men now claimed, as a return, that she should join that league for the destruction of the Protestants, and the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic faith in Europe, to which they had become parties with the pope, the King of Spain, and the emperor. As one part of their vast and unprincipled design, it was necessary to put down the Reformation in Scotland, and to secure the French ascendancy in that country; and having accomplished this, they trusted it would be no difficult matter to expel Elizabeth from the throne, to place the crown on the head of Mary, the young Queen of Scotland, whom they had already induced to assume the title of Queen of England, and under her to unite the two kingdoms in the profession of the ancient faith.

These plans, and her expected co-operation in them, were communicated to the queen-regent by Monsieur de Bettancourt, who arrived in Scotland on a mission from the King of France, soon after the conclusion of the peace of Cambrai.² The disposition of Mary of Guise was inclined to moderate measures; and being

¹ *Supra*, p. 33.

² Maitland, vol. ii. pp. 909, 910. Carte, vol. iii. p. 378. Melvill's Memoirs, pp. 77, 78, Bannatyne edit.

attached to some of the leaders of the Protestants, to whose abilities and friendship she had been indebted, it was not without emotion and regret that she received the proposals of France. But she was deeply attached to the Roman Catholic faith; she had been educated in a profligate court; her brothers, the cardinal and the duke, had acquired an extraordinary influence over her mind; the great body of the papal clergy in Scotland urged upon her the necessity of adopting decided measures to check the rapid growth of heresy; and, after a feeble and unsuccessful remonstrance to the court of France, she abandoned her better resolutions, and resigned herself to the entire direction of the Guises.

This fatal change in the policy of the queen-regent was followed by an immediate collision between the Protestant and the Catholic parties. In a convention of the clergy which assembled at Edinburgh, (March, 1559,) the Lords of the Congregation presented a petition, in which, in addition to their former demands, they now insisted that bishops should be elected with consent of the gentlemen of the diocese, and parish priests by the votes of the parishioners. To these they not only received a decided refusal, but the synod, contrary to the spirit of improvement and conciliation exhibited in the preceding year, declared that no language, except the Latin, could be used in the public prayers of the church, without violating its express decrees, and offering offence to the majesty of God. Nor was this all: the queen, with a rigour for which it is difficult to account, issued a proclamation for conformity of religion; all were commanded to resort daily to mass; and in an interview with some of the Protestant leaders, she exhibited to them the injunctions she had received from France, warned them

of the peril in which they stood, and summoned the most distinguished among the reformed ministers to appear before a parliament to be held at Stirling, and defend themselves from the accusations which were to be brought against them.¹

Alarmed by these rash and unwise proceedings, the Earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell sheriff of Ayr, requested an audience, in which they delivered a strong remonstrance. But when they besought her not to molest their preachers, unless their doctrine could be proved to be repugnant to the Word of God, she broke into expressions of reproach and anger, declaring that their ministers should be banished, though they preached as soundly as St Paul.² Glencairn and Campbell calmly reminded her of the promises of toleration which she had made them. "Promises," she replied, "ought not to be urged upon princes, unless they can conveniently fulfil them." So flagrant a doctrine was received by the Scottish lords with merited indignation : to offer arguments against it would have been ridiculous ; but they did not shrink from their duty. "If, madam," said they, "you are resolved to keep no faith with your subjects, we will renounce our allegiance ; and it will be for your grace to consider the calamities which such a state of things must entail upon the country."³

The boldness of this language produced a return to calmer reason, and she appeared willing to avert the storm ; but at this moment the reformed opinions were publicly embraced by the town of Perth, and the queen, in great disturbance, commanded Lord Ruthven

¹ Spottiswood, p. 120. Knox, p. 134. Keith, pp. 82, 83.

² Keith, p. 82. Spottiswood, p. 121.

³ Ibid. Calderwood's MS. History, vol. i. p. 310. British Museum, Ayscough, 4734.

the provost to suppress the alleged heresy. His reply was, “that he could bring the bodies of his citizens to her grace, and compel them to prostrate themselves before her, till she was fully satiate of their blood, but over their consciences she had no power.” She upbraided him for his “malapert” reply; commanded Dundee, Montrose, and all other places which had abjured the ancient faith, to be ready to attend mass and profess their adherence to the liturgy of the Roman Catholic church at Easter, and again summoned the preachers to appear at Stirling, to answer for their conduct, upon the 10th of May.¹

It was at this critical season that the adherents of the Reformation received an important accession of strength, by the arrival of Knox in Scotland, (May 2, 1559.) The remonstrances which he had transmitted to the Lords of the Congregation from Dieppe, had produced the most favourable effects; and in obedience to the second invitation, addressed to him in the month of November 1558, he now came to take his part with Willock, Douglas, and other preachers, who, during his absence, had laboured, at the peril of their lives, for the establishment of the truth. He found the cause of the Congregation in a condition very different from that in which he had left it at the period of his retreat from Scotland in 1557. Then, the seed had indeed been sown, and in some places began to spring up; but the Catholic party were predominant, and “matters had not yet ripened for a general reformation.”² Now, the Protestant faith was espoused by large masses of the people, professed by the most powerful of the nobles, and, in the event of attack, it could look with some confidence to the coun-

¹ MS. Calderwood, British Museum, Ayscough, 4734, fol. 311.

² M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 192.

tenance and support of England. But it acquired a wonderful accession of strength in the return of this bold, uncompromising, and eloquent adherent, who, without delaying in the capital, repaired directly to Dundee. Here, when he learnt the proceedings against the ministers, he earnestly required that he might be permitted to assist his brethren, and to make confession of his faith along with them ; a request which we may believe was readily granted.

It was now resolved by the leaders of the Congregation, that they would accompany their preachers to Stirling, and the principal barons of Angus and Mearns took their journey for this purpose to Perth. They wore no armour, but declared that they came as peaceable men, and solely to make confession of their faith, and to assist their ministers in their just defence.¹ Lest their numbers might create alarm, Erskine of Dun, a grave and prudent man, noted for his early adherence to the reformed opinions, leaving his brethren in Perth, went forward to Stirling, and requested an interview with the queen. On this occasion the regent acted with much dissimulation : she listened with apparent moderation ; and when the envoy assured her that the single wishes of the Congregation were to be permitted to worship God according to their conscience, and to secure liberty to their preachers, she declared, that if the people would disperse, the preachers should be unmolested, the summons discharged, and new proceedings taken, which should remove all ground of complaint. Relying upon this promise, Erskine wrote to his brethren, who were at Perth ; their leaders sent home the people ; and it was expected that peace and toleration would be restored.

¹ MS. Calderwood, British Museum, Ayscough, 4734, fol. 311.

But with the removal of the danger, the regent thought it politic to forget her promises ; and, with a precipitation which was as treacherous as it was short-sighted, the summons was continued : the ministers who did not appear were denounced rebels, and all were prohibited, under the penalty of high treason, from receiving or supporting them.¹ Enraged at such perfidy, the Laird of Dun withdrew indignantly from court ; rejoined his brethren, who were still at Perth, excused himself for having too implicitly trusted a princess who, he was now convinced, was resolved upon their destruction, and warned them to prepare for those extreme measures which were meditated against them. His representations made a deep impression ; and Knox seized the moment to deliver to the people a sermon against idolatry, with all that fervid and impassioned eloquence for which he was so remarkable. He described how odious this crime appeared in the sight of God ; what positive commands had been given in Scripture for the destruction of its monuments ; and concluded by a denunciation of the mass, as one of the most abominable forms in which it had ever appeared to ensnare and degrade the human mind.²

It is by no means clear that the preacher, or the leaders of the Congregation who supported him, entertained at this moment any intention of exhorting the multitude to open violence ; on the contrary, the Congregation, after the conclusion of the sermon, quietly dispersed, and a few loiterers, or, to use Knox's expressions, "certain godly men," alone remained in the church. Scarce, however, had the preacher retired, when a priest, with a spirit of hasty zeal, perhaps of ill-timed defiance, unveiled a rich shrine which stood

¹ MS. Calderwood. Keith, pp. 83, 84.

² MS. Calderwood, fol. 313, vol. i.

above one of the altars, and disclosing the images of the Virgin and the Saints, prepared to celebrate mass. A youth, who had listened to Knox's exhortations, exclaimed that this was intolerable. He appealed to those who stood by, and conjured them not to permit that idolatry which God had condemned, to be used in their despite and before their face.² The priest, indignant at the interruption, struck him, and he retaliated by casting a stone at the altar, which broke one of the images. In an instant all was uproar and confusion : those who till now had been only spectators, and whose minds, from the recent eloquence of Knox, were highly excited, broke in upon the shrine, tore down its ornaments, shivered it to pieces, and being joined by others whom the noise had attracted, demolished every monument or relic which they imagined to savour of idolatry, in an incredibly short space of time, (May 11, 1559.) The confusion now increased, and they who had inflicted this summary vengeance being joined by the "rascal multitude," as Knox denominates them, rushed with headlong fury to the religious houses of the Grey and Black Friars. They seem to have found them deserted : no defence at least was made ; and in a few hours these magnificent edifices were spoiled of their wealth ; and their altars, confessionals, and every ancient and hallowed relic which adorned them, torn down and defaced. The same fate was experienced by the Charterhouse or Carthusian monastery, a building of extraordinary strength and magnificence, of which within two days nothing was to be seen but the bare and melancholy walls. The first invasion or impulse appears to have been solely against "idolatry ;" but although the

¹ MS. Calderwood, fol. 313, vol. i.

preachers had been careful to warn their hearers not to put their hands to a reformation for covetousness sake, the people, stimulated by the extraordinary wealth and luxury of the Grey Friars, began to spoil. No honest man, however, according to the words of Knox, was enriched to the value of a groat, “and the spoil was permitted to the poor.” The probability seems to be, that the poor took the liberty of helping themselves.¹ Nor was this ebullition of popular fury confined to Perth; the infection spread to Cupar, a small town which had embraced the Protestant opinions, and here similar excesses, though on a smaller scale, took place.

It was with feelings of deep resentment that the queen-regent heard of these violent and illegal proceedings. She lamented especially the destruction of the monastery of Carthusians, a royal foundation, and honoured by her as holding the ashes of James the First. In the first paroxysm of her anger she vowed vengeance against all who were connected with the disturbance, and declared her resolution to raze the town of Perth to the ground, and sow it with salt, as a monument of perpetual desolation.² These were not meant to be empty threats. She instantly summoned to her defence the Duke of Chastelherault, with Athole, and D'Osell the French commander; she remonstrated with the leaders amongst the Congregation, who, though attached to the doctrines of the Reformation, were inimical to the excesses which had been committed; two of these, the Earl of Argyle and the Lord James, disclaiming all intentions of affording encouragement to rebellion, joined her with their forces; and on the 18th of May she advanced towards Perth, where the

¹ Printed Calderwood, p. 7. Spottiswood, pp. 121, 122. Knox, p. 136.

² Knox, p. 137. MS. Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 313, 314.

Protestants had begun to collect their strength. Soon after, they drew up three letters in justification of their proceedings. In the first, which was addressed to the queen-regent, they informed this princess, that, although they had till now served her with willing hearts, they should be constrained, if she continued her unjust persecution, to take the sword of just defence. They were ready, they added, to obey their sovereign and her husband under the single condition that they might live in peace, and have the word of Jesus Christ truly preached, and his sacraments rightly administered. Without this they were determined never to be subject to mortal men. They declared that they were about to notify what they had done to their sovereign and the King of France; and they conjured her, in the name of God, and as she valued the peace of the realm, not to invade them till they had received their answer.¹ The second letter of the Congregation, which was a more elaborate defence, was directed to the nobility of Scotland. They knew, they said, that the nobles were divided in opinion: some regarded them as a faction of heretics and seditious men who troubled the commonwealth, and against whom no punishment could be too severe; others were persuaded of the justice of their cause, nay, had for some time openly professed it, and after having exhorted them to the enterprise, had deserted them in their extreme necessity. To the first they alleged, that none could prove such offences against them: all that they had done being in obedience to God, who had commanded idolatry and its monuments to be cast down and destroyed. "Our earnest and long request," they continued, "hath been, and yet is, that in open assem-

¹ Keith, p. 86. 22d May, 1559.

bly it may be disputed, in presence of indifferent auditors, Whether that these abominations, named by the pestilent papists, Religion, which they by fire and sword defend, be the true religion of Jesus Christ or not? Now, this our humble request being denied us, our lives are sought in a most cruel manner; and ye, the nobility, whose duty is to defend innocents and to bridle the fury and rage of wicked men, were it of princes or emperors, do, notwithstanding, follow their appetites, and arm yourselves against us, your brethren and natural countrymen. * * If ye think that we be criminal because we dissent from your opinions, consider, we beseech you, that the prophets under the law, the apostles of Christ Jesus after his ascension, the primitive church and holy martyrs, did disagree with the whole world in their days; and will ye deny but that their action was just, and that all those who persecuted them were murderers before God? May not the like be true this day? What assurance have ye this day of your religion, which the world had not that day of theirs? Ye have a multitude that agree with you, and so had they; ye have antiquity of time, and that they lacked not; ye have councils, laws, and men of reputation that have established all things, as ye suppose; but none of all these can make any religion acceptable before God, which only dependeth upon his own will, revealed to man in his most sacred Word. Is it not then a wonder that ye sleep in so deadly a security, in the matter of your own salvation?" To the second class, those of the nobles who had first espoused their cause, and now deserted it, they directed an indignant remonstrance. "Unless," said they, "ye again join yourselves to us, we declare, that as of God ye are reputed traitors, so shall ye be excommunicated from our society, and

from all participation with us in the administration of the sacraments. The glory of this victory, which God will give to his church, yea, even in the eyes of men, shall not appertain to you ; but the fearful judgments that apprehended Ananias and his wife Sapphira, shall apprehend you and your posterity.”¹ The spirit and contents of the third letter of the Congregation may be divined from its extraordinary superscription. It was directed, “To the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent prelates, and their shavelings within Scotland.” It contained a tremendous anathema against those who in their blind fury had caused the blood of martyrs to be shed ; it warned them, that if they proceeded in their cruelty, they should be made the subjects of a war of extermination such as Israel carried on with the Canaanites ; it arrogated to themselves the appellation of the Congregation of Christ ; it stigmatized their opponents as the offspring of the man of sin ; and concluded by uniting, in a manner which none can read without sorrow, expressions of extremest vengeance and wrath with the holy name of God, and the gospel of peace and love which was preached by his Son.²

It was not to be expected that such violent measures should be attended with pacific effects : the army of the Protestants was inferior to their opponents, and the queen-regent, confident of victory, had disdainfully rejected all proposals of negotiation, when the arrival of Glencairn in the camp of the Congregation, at the head of two thousand five hundred men, induced her to hesitate. By the mediation of the Earl of Argyle and the Lord James a cessation of hostilities was agreed on. Both armies consented to disperse ; the

¹ Knox, pp. 139, 140, 141.

² Keith, p. 87.

town was to be left open to the queen-regent; no person was to be troubled or brought to answer for the late changes in religion, termed by their authors the abolishing of idolatry; the religion begun was to be suffered to go forward; no Frenchman was to approach within three miles of the town; when the queen retired no French garrison was to be left within it; and in the meantime all controversies were to be reserved till the meeting of parliament.¹

This treaty having been concluded, Willock, who had arrived with Glencairn, and Knox, who had remained at Perth since the demolition of the monasteries, sought an interview with Argyle and the Lord James, and upbraided them with their desertion of the brethren. They repelled the accusation with warmth, declared their steady attachment to the cause, but said that they had promised the queen to labour for peace, and that the terms which she had offered were too reasonable to be refused. If, however, she proved false to her word, they called God to witness, that they would assist and concur with their brethren in all time to come.² Satisfied with this explanation, Knox ascended the pulpit. It was right, he observed, before they left the scene of their labours, that all men should be exhorted to constancy and thankfulness. It had pleased God to stay the rage of the enemy without the effusion of blood; but he added, with that discernment into human motives and character with which he was eminently gifted, that he was well assured the queen meant no truth: "that it became no brother to be weary or faint, since he was certain

¹ These conditions of the capitulation are in the express words of Knox, p. 146, and Spottiswood, p. 122. Hume contends that the articles of capitulation were not violated, but, as it appears to me, on insufficient grounds.

² Knox, p. 146.

the treaty would only be kept till the regent and her Frenchmen became the strongest.”¹

Profiting by these warnings, the Lords of the Congregation before they separated framed a new bond or covenant, in which it was agreed “to unite together” in doing all things required of God in his Scripture that might be to his glory, and to put away all things that dishonoured his name, and hindered his pure and true worship. They solemnly obliged themselves to defend the Congregation or any of its members when trouble was intended against them; and they promised in the presence of God to spare neither labour, life, nor substance, in maintaining the liberty of the whole brethren, against whatever person should trouble them for the cause of religion, or any other cause thereon depending. This agreement was signed by the Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the Lord James, Lord Boyd, Lord Ochiltree, whose daughter Knox afterwards married; and Matthew Campbell of Taringhame.²

It was soon seen how necessary were these measures to the existence of the Protestants. They had left Perth on the 29th of May; that day the queen-regent entered the town, and, with the duplicity which Knox had anticipated, violated the promise which she had made. Chastelherault, D’Osell, and a body of French soldiers, accompanied her; the chief magistrates, who had been favourers of the Reformation, were deprived of their authority; Charteris of Kinfauns, a man of profligate manners, was made provost; and many of the inhabitants abandoned their houses and submitted to a voluntary exile, rather than witness the re-establishment of that worship which they abhorred. It had been stipulated that Perth should not be left in

¹ Knox, p. 150.

² MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 324.

the occupation of a French garrison ; and the regent congratulated herself upon her ingenuity in observing the letter, whilst she broke the spirit of the treaty. A body of troops in the pay of France, though natives of Scotland, were intrusted with the custody of the town ; and the princess, when reminded of her engagements, of which the real meaning could not be easily misunderstood, defended her conduct on the common and untenable maxim, that no faith was to be kept with heretics.

These dishonourable proceedings, however, produced important effects, and were favourable to the cause they were intended to destroy. The Earl of Argyle and the Lord James, faithful to their promise, deserted the regent, and departed secretly to St Andrews. Lord Ruthven, the Earl of Menteith, and Murray of Tullibardine, disgusted at the hypocrisy with which they had been treated, accompanied them ; and on receiving a summons from the queen-dowager to repair instantly to court on pain of her highest displeasure, they answered, that they dared not, with a safe conscience, be partakers of the manifest tyranny which was committed by her and her council, the prelates, against their brethren who professed a like faith with themselves.¹ It was now no time for delay : letters were despatched by Argyle and the Lord James to the Lairds of Dun and Pitarrow, the Provost of Dundee, and others of their brethren, to assemble for the Reformation at St Andrews ; and on the 4th of June they were joined, not only by many devoted brethren, but by Knox, who, in the short interval between this and the treaty of Perth, had preached with great success in Fife.

¹ MS. Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 325, 326, 333, 334. 1st June, 1559.

It is from this period of the assembly of the Protestants at St Andrews, that we can discern the appearance of a new principle in their conduct. The defence of the country against the domination of the French troops, and the tyranny with which the regent wielded her military power, became a paramount object in their proceedings. They began to have a deeper insight than hitherto into the unprincipled schemes of France. In the efforts of the queen-regent to put down the Reformation, they believed that they saw a determination to overthrow the liberties of the country; and there can be little doubt, that whilst this feeling added strength to those whose predominating motive was the establishment of what they believed the truth, it induced others to join them, who, under other circumstances, would have remained quiet spectators of the struggle.

The zealous spirit and popular eloquence of Knox now found daily employment, and was followed by violent effects. After a sermon at Crail, a small sea town in Fife,¹ in which he exhorted his hearers to die like men, or to live and be victorious in the great struggle in which they were engaged, the multitude demolished the altars and images in the church; and the same scenes were repeated after an equally stirring address at Anstruther, another seaport not far distant.

But his greatest effort was reserved for St Andrews, the seat of the metropolitan of Scotland, and the scene which was associated in the mind of the Reformer with his earliest labours and sufferings. The leaders of the Congregation, however, became apprehensive of the consequences which, in this centre of Romish pomp, might follow a public address. The archbishop,

¹ Crail is on the coast, near the most eastern part of Fife.

hearing that his cathedral was to be reformed, entered the town on Saturday evening with a hundred spears. He sent Colville of Cleish to inform Knox, that on his first appearance in the pulpit, he should be saluted with a dozen culverins,¹ and the Reformer was earnestly requested to be silent. But no persuasions of his friends, no threats of his enemies, could shake his resolution. He ascended the pulpit; chose as the subject of his sermon that portion of Scripture which describes our Saviour driving the buyers and sellers out of the temple, and delivered an address in his usual strain of familiar and indignant eloquence. Whatever may have been his sentiments, or those of the leaders of the Congregation, as to the first excesses of the people, it was now evident that Knox, in a spirit of erroneous and misdirected zeal, no longer doubted that it was their duty, as professors of the truth, to put down by actual violence the idolatry which he condemned; to hazard all the evils of civil war and popular commotion, rather than suffer the alleged abominations of the Romish church, and the tyranny of the French faction, to pollute the faith and endanger the liberty of the country. Animated by this feeling, he drew a parallel between the abuses of the Jewish worship and the corruptions of Popery; he explained to the magistrates and to the commonalty that it was their duty to imitate Christ's example, and remove all monuments of idolatry; and so ready were they to follow his instructions, that the congregation sallied from the sermon to the monasteries of the Dominican and Franciscan orders, and, encouraged by their chief magistrates, levelled these proud and wealthy edifices with the ground.²

¹ MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 325. Knox's Hist. p. 149.

² Keith, p. 91. M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. p. 269.

In the midst of this destruction the archbishop flew to the queen-regent, who lay with her Frenchmen at Falkland. Inflamed by his account of the riot, the regent gave instant orders to advance upon St Andrews; and as Argyle and the Lord James were but slenderly accompanied, she trusted to assemble an army and crush them before they could receive assistance. But here she was mistaken. On the first knowledge of their danger, men flocked in so rapidly, that, to use Knox's phrase, "they seemed to rain from the clouds;"¹ and when the regent mustered her army, it was found that the Congregation, who had encamped on Cupar Moor, greatly outnumbered her. It was evident, too, that there were experienced officers amongst them. Their ordnance was judiciously placed, and the ground occupied by their horse and their infantry chosen with considerable military skill. Fearful of attacking them with an inferior force, the queen-regent again entered into a negotiation, and a truce of eight days was agreed on. It was stipulated that no Frenchman should remain within the boundaries of Fife, except the garrisons which, previous to the raising of the last army, lay in some of the coast towns; and that certain noblemen, appointed by the queen and council, should meet the leaders of the Protestants, to decide on the best method for the restoration of peace to the country.

It was soon seen, however, that the single object of the queen-regent was to procure delay: no commissioners arrived at St Andrews, where the Lords of the Congregation for some days anxiously expected them. Accounts were brought in the meantime of the tyranny exercised by Charteris the provost and the garrison in

¹ Knox, pp. 151, 152. MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 327.

Perth ; and the Protestants, pitying the condition of their brethren, who had been driven from their houses to subsist on the charity of their friends, determined to assemble in force and expel the foreign troops from this city. Late events had taught them their own strength ; habits of discipline, watchfulness, and active communication, had been introduced by that sense of mutual danger which is the best instructor ; and Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, a soldier of great military experience and undaunted determination, had joined their party at this conjuncture. His accession was of much importance to the Congregation, and appears to have been the result rather of a wish to rescue his native country from becoming an appanage of France, than of a determination to overthrow the Romish faith. As early at least as March 1st, 1557, he had expressed himself with the utmost indignation against the yoke of the Frenchmen, and had offered his services to restore Scotland to its former liberty, and to promote an amity with England.¹

Intimation had been sent to the brethren (so the Congregation were generally termed by their ministers) to assemble in the vicinity of Perth, on the 24th of June ; and so strongly did they muster on the day appointed, that a summons was instantly given to the town, charging the garrison to abandon it, and commanding the provost to open the gates, and leave it free to the subjects of the realm. On his refusal, and after a vain attempt by the regent to procure delay, the batteries were opened by Lord Ruthven on the west, and on the east quarter by the citizens of

¹ Sir N. Wotton to Lord Paget privy-seal, and Sir William Petre principal secretary ; MS. letter, 1st March, 1556-7, State-paper Office. French Correspondence, MS. State-paper Office, Sir William Kirkaldy to Sir William Cecil, 23d June, 1559.

Dundee. It was evident, after the first discharge, that resistance would be vain ; and the garrison, having stipulated that they should march out with military honours, delivered the town to the Congregation on Sabbath the 25th of June.¹

This success, owing to the strength and importance of Perth, at that time one of the few fortified towns in Scotland, was highly encouraging to the Protestants. On the day of the capitulation, public thanksgiving was returned to God for their victory ; England, it was hoped, would espouse their cause more openly ; and Knox, whose work against female sovereigns, or, as he termed it, the “Monstrous Regimen” of women, had made him odious to Elizabeth, addressed a remarkable letter to Secretary Cecil, in which he endeavoured to deprecate her resentment. He intended to have enclosed at the same time an epistle to the queen herself, but this he delayed, owing to the sudden departure of the messenger. “I understand,” said he, in that honest and undaunted style of writing, which was unacceptable to the courtly taste of the English secretary, “I am become so odious to the queen’s grace, and to her council, that the mention of my name is displeasing in their ears ; but yet I will not cease to offer myself, requiring you, in God’s name, to present to the queen’s grace this my letter, smelling nothing of flattery, and therefore I hope it shall be the more acceptable. Why that either her grace, either that the faithful in her realm, should repute me as an enemy, I know no just cause. One thing I know, that England by me this day hath received no hurt, yea, it hath received, by the power of God working in me, that benefit which yet to none in England is known, neither yet list I to

¹ MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 330. State-paper Office, Sir William Kirkaldy to Sir H. Percy, 25th June, 1559.

boast of the same: only this will I say, that when England and the usurped authority thereof was enemy to me, yet was I friend to it; and the fruit of my friendship saved the borders in their greatest necessities. My eyes have long looked to a perpetual concord betwixt these two realms, the occasion whereof is most present, if you shall move your hearts unfeignedly to seek the same. For humility of Christ Jesus crucified, now begun here to be practised, may join together the hearts of those whom Satan, by pride, hath long dissevered: For the furtherance hereof I would have license to repair towards you. God move your heart rightly to consider the estate of both the realms, which stand in greater danger than many do espy. The common bruit, I doubt not, carrieth unto you the troubles that be lately here risen for the controversy in religion. The truth is, that many of the nobility, the most part of barons and gentlemen, with many towns and one city, have put to their hands to remove idolatry and the monuments of the same. The Reformation is somewhat violent, because the adversaries be stubborn; none that professeth Christ Jesus with us usurpeth any thing against the authorities, neither yet intendeth to usurp, unless strangers be brought in to subdue and bring in bondage the liberties of this poor country; if any such thing be espied, I am uncertain what shall follow.”¹

The Lords of the Congregation were now to discover, that it is infinitely more easy to excite, than to direct or to check the fury of the people. In the immediate vicinity of Perth, was the ancient abbey church of Scone, regarded with peculiar reverence as the spot in which for many centuries the Scottish monarchs had

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, 28th June, 1559, St Johnston, John Knox to Secretary Cecil.

held the ceremony of their coronation. Beside it stood the palace of the Bishop of Moray, a prelate of profigate life, and hated by the men of Dundee as a chief instrument in the martyrdom of Walter Miln. It was thought proper, therefore, that some "order" should be taken with him; and a message was sent by the leaders of the Congregation, requiring him to join them with his servants, otherwise they would neither spare nor save his abbey. He consented to this, and added, that not only would he meet them with all his force, but vote with them against the clergy in parliament. But before this answer arrived, the citizens of Dundee had seized their weapons, and rushed forward to the abbey, followed by Knox and their chief magistrate, who in vain attempted to restrain them. It was the earnest wish of the Reformer and of the leaders of the Protestants, to save both the palace and the abbey, and in this they at first so far succeeded, that nothing but the images were pulled down; Argyle and Moray then drew off the multitude, and receiving intelligence in the evening that the queen-regent meditated to garrison Stirling, and preoccupy the passes of the Forth, so as to prevent a junction between the northern reformers and their lowland brethren, these two leaders made a rapid night march, took possession of the town, and, according to the expression then commonly used, purged it of idolatry. Their absence was fatal to Sccone: some of the poor, in hope of spoil, and others with a lingering wish of vengeance, returned on the morrow and began to prowl about the abbey. The prelate in the interval had barricaded his mansion; his servants had armed themselves; and a citizen of Dundee approaching near the "Girnel" or granary, was thrust through with a rapier by one, reported to be a son of the prelate. In a moment all was tumult: the air rung with

shouts and cries of vengeance, the story flew to Perth, a multitude which no power could control attacked the ecclesiastical palace and the abbey, and within a few hours both were in flames :¹ many, even of the most zealous of the brethren, lamented this destruction, and Knox appears personally to have exerted himself to prevent it ; but an aged matron who stood by, viewed the scene with exultation and thankfulness ; “ Now,” said she, “ I see that God’s judgments are just, and none can save where he will punish : since ever I can remember aught, this place hath been nothing else than a den of profligates, where these filthy beasts, the friars, have acted in darkness every sort of sin, and specially that most wicked man the bishop : if all knew what I know, they would see matter for gratitude, but none of offence.”²

Although Argyle and the Lord James mustered only a small force at Stirling, the greater part of the army of the Congregation having returned to their homes, such was the terror inspired by the rapidity and decision of their movements, that on their advance to Linlithgow, the queen-regent and the French forces evacuated the capital and retreated to Dunbar. The intelligence of this movement gave fresh spirits to the reformers, and having taken possession of Linlithgow, pulled down the images and destroyed the relics, they entered Edinburgh in triumph on the 29th of June, 1559.

¹ MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 331.

² Ibid. Keith, p. 93.

CHAP. II.

M A R Y.

1559, 1560.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Portugal.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Elizabeth.	Francis II. Charles IX.	Philip II.	Sebastian.	Ferdinand I.	Paul IV. Pius IV.

THE occupation of the capital by the army of the Congregation was an event of great importance. It convinced the queen-regent that all hope of avoiding a civil war was at an end, unless she was prepared to agree to a total alteration of the established religion : it was equally decisive on the minds of the reformers. In the eye of the law, they had gone too far in resistance to dream of retreat ; and considerations of safety urged them to press forward in the work which they had begun. It becomes an interesting inquiry at this moment, what was the exact object which they proposed to themselves ; and fortunately we have their own evidence upon the subject. In an original letter from Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, one of the ablest leaders of the Protestants, written to Sir Henry Percy the day after they entered Edinburgh, he thus speaks : “ I received your letter this last of June, perceiving thereby the doubt and suspicion you stand in for the coming forward of the Congregation, whom, I assure you, you need not to have in suspicione ; for they mean

nothing but reformation of religion, which shortly, throughout the realm, they will bring to pass, for the queen and Monsieur D'Osell, with all the Frenchmen, for refuge are retired to Dunbar. The foresaid Congregation came this last of June, by three of the clock, to Edinburgh, where they will take order for the maintenance of the true religion and resisting of the King of France, if he sends any force against them. * * The manner of their proceeding in reformation is this : they pull down all manner of friaries, and some abbeys, which willingly receive not the Reformation. As to parish churches, they cleanse them of images and all other monuments of idolatry, and command that no masses be said in them ; in place thereof, the Book set forth by godly King Edward is read in the same churches. They have never as yet meddled with a pennyworth of that which pertains to the church, but presently they will take order throughout all the parts where they dwell, that all the fruits of the abbeys and other churches shall be kept and bestowed upon the faithful ministers, until such time as a further order be taken. Some suppose the queen, seeing no other remedy, will follow their desires, which is, a general reformation throughout the whole realm conform to the pure word of God, and the Frenchmen to be sent away. If her grace will do so, they will obey her, and serve her, and annex the whole revenues of the abbeys to the crown ; if her grace will not be content with this, they are determined to hear of no agreement.”¹

At the same time that Kirkaldy directed this letter to Percy, with the object of explaining their real in-

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Sir William Kirkaldy to Sir Henry Percy, endorsed Cecil. Mr Kirkaldy to Sir Henry Percy, Edinburgh, 1st July, 1559. Also, Cecil to Throgmorton. Forbes, vol. i. p. 155, and Lingard, vol. vii. p. 311.

tentions, and quieting his fears regarding any hostile designs upon England, Knox addressed the English knight in the name of the whole Congregation. He entreated, that through them a correspondence might be opened betwixt the faithful in both realms. "The troubles of this realm," says he, "you hear, but the cause to many is not known. Persuade yourself, and assure others, that we mean neither sedition, neither yet rebellion against any just and lawful authority, but only the advancement of Christ's religion, and the liberty of this poor realm. If we can have the one with the other, it will fare better with England; which if we lack, although we mourn and smart, England will not escape without worse trouble."¹ Soon after this, Kirkaldy had a private meeting with Percy at Norham. The interview took place with the concurrence and under the directions of Cecil; and the Scottish baron having explained more fully the intentions of the Protestants, returned to them with the grateful intelligence that England was disposed to favour their views, and to enter into a league with them for the attainment of their designs. The news was received with much exultation; and Grange, in a letter addressed to the English secretary, declares that "all Europe shall know that a league made in the name of God hath another foundation and assurance, than pactions made by man for worldly commodity."²

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Knox to Sir Henry Percy, Edinburgh, 1st July, 1559.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Sir William Kirkaldy to Cecil, Edinburgh, 17th July, 1559. Also, State-paper Office, Knox to Cecil, 12th July, 1559, Edinburgh. See also, original draft, State-paper Office, 8th July, 1559, Sir William Cecil to Sir James Crofts. " * * * In any wise do your endeavour to *kindle the fire*, for if it should quench, the opportunity thereof will not arise in our lives; and that the Protestants mean to do would be done with all speed, for it will be too late when the French power cometh. To a wise man few words serve. * * *" Also, Cecil to Mr Percy, 4th July, 1559.

There is every reason to believe that these letters contain an honest statement of the views of the Congregation. The establishment of the reformed religion in opposition to the Romish faith, the expulsion of the French troops from Scotland, and the conclusion of a league, offensive and defensive, with Elizabeth, were the great objects which they proposed to themselves. Nor, although they had agreed and acted upon the necessity of pulling down all religious houses which adhered to the ancient faith, were they as deeply inimical to prelacy at this moment as they became not long after. They used the service book of King Edward the Sixth,¹ an extraordinary circumstance, when we consider the violent opposition raised by Knox against this same form of liturgy, only a few years before, at Frankfort. Their hands were clean from any appropriation of ecclesiastical property; and on condition that the regent gave her consent to a general reformation, they were ready to annex the whole of the abbey lands to the crown, to be employed in the support of the faithful ministers of the church. Their great fear was the arrival of a new army from France; they were aware that the warlike levies in that country were preparing against them; they dreaded the desertion of some amongst themselves, whose poverty exposed them to corruption;² and they were so well aware of the extreme caution and parsimony which marked the policy of Elizabeth, that they could not look with much confidence to her assistance, either in men or money.

Still they did not despair. The people were in

¹ This important fact, which is now set at rest, has been much disputed, and some able writers have come to a contrary conclusion.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Sir William Kirkaldy to Cecil, 17th July, 1559, Edinburgh.

their favour; the most powerful amongst the barons had espoused their cause; and Cecil's politics, though timid, were decidedly opposed to the establishment of any thing like a permanent French influence in Scotland.

The Congregation, however, had a formidable enemy in the queen-regent. Could she but temporize and procure delay, she reckoned with confidence on the arrival of a large auxiliary force from France; and former experience had shown, that against this the irregular feudal infantry, which the Scottish barons brought into the field, was unable to contend for any length of time. She spread reports that her adversaries contemplated not only an alteration of the established religion, but a more daring change: that their great leader, the Lord James, aspired to the crown; and that, under pretence of religious reformation, they sought to overturn the existing government.¹ A proclamation to this effect was made in the name of Francis and Mary king and queen of Scotland:— It arraigned the Protestants of sedition; accused them of having seized the irons of the mint, and of maintaining a correspondence with England; and commanded all, under pain of treason, to depart from the capital, which they had violently entered. It declared, at the same time, that the regent had already offered to call a parliament, in which, by the advice of the estates of the realm, a universal order in religion should be established, and in the meantime had given a full liberty of conscience to her subjects.

These representations produced a considerable effect. Arran the late regent, now Duke of Chastelherault, fell off from the Congregation; others grew lukewarm

¹ Keith, p. 95.

in the cause, and the leaders trembled for the overthrow of their party. In a letter to the queen they repudiated, with more indignation than consistency, the charge of rebellion ; declared they would, in civil matters, conduct themselves as obedient subjects ; and professed their sole object to be the promotion of God's glory, the defence of their preachers, and the destruction of idolatry.¹

An attempt was soon after made to compose matters by negotiation, and commissioners from both sides met at Preston in Mid-Lothian ; but the regent insisted not only that she should have the free exercise of her mass, but that, wherever she came, the Protestant preachers should be silent. To the last condition, which they justly contended would leave them without a church at all, it was impossible for the Lords of the Congregation to agree ; yet fearful of coming to extremities, they prolonged the conferences, and evinced an earnest desire for peace. This, however, did not prevent them from sending a letter to Queen Elizabeth, and at the same moment a more impassioned epistle to Cecil. This crafty minister had comforted them by promises of assistance, should they be invaded by any foreign power, and had requested them to explain fully the purposes for which they had taken arms. "Our whole purpose," say they in reply, "is, as knoweth God, to advance the glory of Christ Jesus, and the true preaching of his Evangel within this realm; to remove superstition, and all sorts of external idolatry; to bridle, to our power, the fury of those that have cruelly shed the blood of our brethren, and to our uttermost to maintain the liberty of this our country from the tyranny and thraldom of strangers."²

¹ Keith, p. 95.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, in the handwriting of Knox, signed

The minister of Elizabeth, however, had pressed them upon a delicate point: the allegation of the queen-regent that they intended not only a change of religion but of government. Their reply is remarkable. "True it is," they observe, "that as yet we have made no mention of any change in authority, neither yet hath any such thing entered in our hearts, except that extreme necessity compel us thereto. But perceiving that France, the queen-regent here, together with her priests and Frenchmen, pretend nothing else but the suppressing of Christ's Evangel, the maintenance of idolatry, the ruin of us, and the utter subversion of this poor realm, we are fully purposed to seek the next remedy—to withstand their tyranny, in which matter we unfeignedly require your faithful counsel and furtherance at the queen and council's hands, for our assistance."¹ Along with these letters, Knox addressed an apologetic epistle to Elizabeth, in which he declared, that her displeasure conceived against him was a burden so grievous and intolerable, that, but for the testimony of a clean conscience, he would have sunk in desperation.²

It did not suit the policy of Cecil, in the uncertain state of the contest between the reformers and the Catholic party, to grant them immediate assistance, still less did he wish to see them put down, and peace established: and with this object of delay he directed

by Argyle, Glencairn, the Lord James, Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree. Edinburgh, 19th July, 1559. Addressed to Sir William Cecil.

¹ MS. State-paper Office. See also, MS. letter from the same lords to Queen Elizabeth; also in the handwriting of Knox, dated Edinburgh, 19th July, 1559.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Knox to Elizabeth, 20th July, 1559. This letter is printed in Knox's History, p. 226, correctly, with the exception of the date, which ought to be 20th instead of 28th July, and this brief sentence, which occurs about the middle of the letter, "going to mass under your sister Mary her persecution of God's saints." This sentence is not in the original.

a remarkable letter to the Congregation, in which he incited them to continue the struggle, and to weaken their principal enemies, the popish clergy, by despoiling them of their riches. "Ye know," said he, "your chief adversaries, the popish kirkmen, be noted wise in their generation; they be rich also, whereby they make many friends; by their wit with false persuasions, by their riches with corruption. As long as they feel no sharpness, they be bold; but if they be once touched with fear, they be the greatest cowards. In our first reformation here in King Henry the Eighth his time, although in some points there was oversight for the help of the ministry and the poor; yet if the prelacy had been left in their pomp and wealth, the victory had been theirs. I like no spoil, but I allow to have good things put to good uses, as to the enriching of the crown, the help to the youth and the nobility, the maintenance of ministry in the church, of learning in schools, and to relieve the poor members of Christ, being in body and limbs impotent. * * But ye may say there is now no season to write of this: the present time requireth defence of yourselves. True it is—and this that I mentioned not impertinent thereto, and to me the more marvel,—that ye emit also such opportunity to help yourselves. Will ye hear of a strange army coming by seas to invade you, and seek help against the same, and yet permit your adversaries, whom ye may expel, to keep the landing and strength for others? Which of these two is easiest: to weaken one neighbour first, or three afterwards? * * What will be the end, when these be the beginnings? Will *they* favour you in Scotland, that burn their own daily in France? What may the duke's grace there look for, when his eldest son was so persecuted, as, to save his life, he was forced to flee France and go to Geneva,

not without great difficulty; his second brother, the Lord David, now cruelly imprisoned by Monsieur Chevigny, one chosen out to show cruelty to your nation; divers Scots of the earl's family put to torture; and, finally, all the duchy of Chastelherault seised to the crown. And to show you their purposed tragedy, the young queen so sweareth, so voweth, so threateneth, to destroy all the house of Hamiltons, as it is beyond all marvel to see your old regent there so enchant the Duke's ears, as to hear nothing hereof. God open his heart according to his knowledge." In the end, Cecil assured them, that although the peace so lately concluded with France made it a matter of difficulty to decide how they were to be assisted, yet that Elizabeth could not but favour their purposes, and would neither neglect them nor see them quail.¹

Before this letter could arrive, conceived in too general terms to afford them any great encouragement, the regent, animated by the accounts she received of the daily desertions in the army of her opponents, advanced from Dunbar towards Edinburgh. The Lords of the Congregation found themselves too weak to defend the capital, and a truce was concluded between the two parties till the 10th of January. The reformers agreed to evacuate the town, deliver up the coining irons of the mint, obey the regent, and abstain from all molestation of churchmen, or destruction of religious houses. The regent, for her part, permitted to the citizens of Edinburgh the free choice of their religion, gave full liberty of speech to the preachers, and promised that no persons should be molested, either in

¹ MS. State-paper Office, original draft in Cecil's handwriting, much erased and interlined.—Endorsed "Copy of my Letter to the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Prior of St Andrews, Lords Boyd and Ochiltree," 28th July, 1559. See also Knox's History, pp. 225-228.

their persons or estate, on account of their faith. It was lastly stipulated, that no men of war, either French or Scots, should be placed in garrison within the town.¹

Such were the conditions agreed on and signed by the duke, the Earl of Huntley, and D'Osell, to whom the negotiation was intrusted by both parties. It is asserted, however, by Knox,² that these were not the articles to which the brethren consented; and before leaving the town they issued a proclamation, in which they artfully omitted every thing which would have been prejudicial to their own party, and added some conditions not to be found in the written appointment.³

On neither side was this convention expected to lead to any permanent pacification. The regent was now in daily hopes of having succour from France; her representations of the state of Scotland had produced a strong sensation in that country; and Sir James Melvill, who had been brought up from early youth in the service of the constable, Montmorency, was sent from Paris on a secret mission into that country, to examine the state of parties, and ascertain whether the accusation of the regent, that the Lord James⁴ aimed at the crown, had any foundation in fact. Melvill was, probably from his connexion with the constable, pre-disposed to favour the cause of the Congregation; and the manner in which he executed his commission argues either extreme simplicity, or a predetermination not to seek the truth. On his arrival, repairing to the Lord James, he interrogated him whether he meditated any designs against the throne; and being

¹ Keith, p. 99.

² Knox, p. 166.

³ Keith, p. 99. Knox, p. 166. And MS. Proclamation, State-paper Office, backed by Cecil, 25th July, Proclamation of the Congregation.

⁴ This young and ambitious nobleman was the queen's natural brother, and afterwards the celebrated Regent Moray.

assured by this able leader that nothing could be farther from his intention—his desire, and that of his associates, being only to obtain liberty of conscience—the ambassador returned through England into France, perfectly satisfied upon the subject.¹ That Moray at this moment encouraged any such daring project may be doubted, but certainly he was not likely to criminate himself upon so serious an accusation.

The death of Henry the Second of France took place during this mission, and on his return to France, Melvill found the Guises triumphant, and nothing but threats of war and vengeance against the party of the Congregation in Scotland. Nor could this change of views remain for any time a secret in that country, or in the court of Elizabeth: the Protestant faction in France kept up an intimate and constant correspondence with their brethren in Scotland; Cecil, by his secret agents, was fully informed of the intrigues of the French cabinet; and both were prepared to watch and to resist, when necessary, the meditated designs, not only against the reformed opinions, but against England itself. Previous to their leaving the capital, in conformity to the late convention, the brethren proclaimed by sound of trumpet the conditions which they had accepted, and added, that if any of these should be violated, the leaders of the party would assist their friends as they had already done, with their whole power, and zealously contend for the glory of God, and the relief and defence of every member of the true Congregation.²

From Edinburgh the chiefs of the Protestants

¹ Melvill's Memoirs, Bannatyne edit. pp. 81, 82. Melvill arrived when the army was arrayed in order of battle on Cupar Moor. This was on the 12th of June, 1559. See Keith, p. 91.

² MS. State-paper Office. Proclamation of the Congregation, Edinburgh, July 25, 1559. It is backed by Cecil, and dated July 31, 1559.

retired to Stirling, where, dreading the craft of their adversaries, who had endeavoured to sow jealousies amongst them, they entered into a new bond, by which they engaged that none of them should receive any message from the regent, without imparting it to the rest, and holding a consultation on the proposals it conveyed.¹ From the same city Knox was despatched to Berwick, where he had a secret interview with Sir James Crofts the governor.² It appears from the original instructions committed to this indefatigable reformer, that his mission was almost warlike. He proposed to seize and garrison Stirling, provided the English would send money for the payment of the troops, describing it as “the key and principal place” which might separate the northern part of the kingdom from the south. He represented that some assistance by sea would be required for the safety of Dundee and Perth, and suggested the fortification of Broughty craig, to which work the barons in its neighbourhood, who were zealous for the cause, would give every assistance. He pointed out the necessity of the fort of Eyemouth being seized by England, to prevent its occupation by the French; and he required the queen’s majesty to influence the Kers, Homes, and other borderers, in favour of their party. Under the term “comfortable support,” which the Congregation looked for from Elizabeth, he explained that not only soldiers must be sent, and men and ships be ready to assist them if assaulted, but “that some respect must be had to some of the nobility, who were not able to sustain such households as now, in the beginning of these

¹ August 1, 1559. Keith, pp. 100, 101.

² Knox came to Berwick on the 3d August, 1559, and on the night of the same day returned with Alexander Whitelaw into Scotland. MS. letter, State-paper Office, Sir James Crofts to Cecil, in cipher with the decipher, dated Berwick, 4th August, 1559.

troubles, were requisite,—the practice of the queen-regent being to stir up enemies against every nobleman, even in the parts where he remaineth." In plainer terms, the Scottish nobility who had joined the cause of the Congregation, were anxious, like their predecessors under Henry the Eighth, to receive pensions from England. On such conditions the reformers, Knox declared, were ready to enter into a strict league with Elizabeth, to bind themselves to be enemies to enemies, and friends to friends, and never to agree with France without the consent of that princess; he lastly observed, that although the league was as yet only proposed to the privy council of Scotland, so anxiously was it desired by the whole barons, that they accused the council of negligence for having so long delayed it.¹

In this mission, Knox, who was accompanied by Alexander Whitelaw, an adherent of the party, incurred considerable personal risk, their little convoy having been furiously attacked by the French garrison of Dunbar.² He returned, however, to Stirling in safety; but mortified by the cold and dilatory policy of Elizabeth, who, whilst she avoided giving them immediate assistance, did not scruple to throw suspicion upon their motives, and to act with an inconsistency and mystery which put them at fault. She addressed a letter to the queen-dowager, full of the most earnest wishes for the preservation of peace between the two countries; yet she accused the leaders of the Congregation of lukewarmness and inactivity, in not rising

¹ MS. Instructions, State-paper Office, 31st July, 1559, in the hand of Knox. These Articles and Instructions appear to have been left by Knox with Sir James Crofts, to be shown to Sir Henry Percy, whom he had no time to see; and to Cecil, to whom he thought it superfluous to write, having, as he says, opened the whole case to Sir J. Crofts. They have never been printed, and throw much light upon a period which, in Knox's own History, is perplexed and obscure.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Knox to Sir J. Crofts, 6th Aug. 1559.

against her authority, expressing her astonishment that they had not more vigorously exerted themselves for the great objects they had in view. It was her desire, as far as we can discover it, to incite them to revolt against the established government, but herself to incur no expense or risk. In her instructions to Sir Ralph Sadler, whom at this time she determined to send on a mission into Scotland, he was directed to "nourish the faction betwixt the Scots and the French, so that the French may be better occupied with them, and less busy with England. Whilst he was to explore the very truth, whether the Lord James did mean any enterprise towards the crown of Scotland for himself, or not."¹

These strange delays and suspicions irritated the reformers; and their leaders, the Lord James and the Earl of Argyle, addressed letters of remonstrance to Crofts governor of Berwick, and to Cecil, in which they complained of the treatment they had experienced. To be judged slow, negligent, and cold in their proceedings, gave them, they declared, great distress. "Ye are not ignorant, sir," said they, addressing Crofts, "how difficult it is to persuade a multitude to the revolt of an authority established. The last time that we were pursued, our enemies were in number thrice more than we, besides that the castle of Edinburgh declared plain enemy to us at our uttermost necessity, which was one cause of our appointment. ** Our strength, substance, and number being considered, we mean nothing but plain simplicity, and a brotherly conjunction without long delay, for we hate all doubles."² In terms equally strong, Knox, in a letter

¹ MS. Instructions, State-paper Office, 8th August, 1559. Backed in Cecil's hand, Sir Ralf Sadler.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, backed by Cecil, Earl of Argyle, and

sent at the same time (6th August, 1559) to Sir James Crofts, arraigned the delay and suspicions of the English privy council. “I must signify to you,” said he, “that unless the council be more forward in this common action, ye will utterly discourage the hearts of all here, for they cannot abide the crime of suspicion; they will not trifle: but if they cannot have present support of them, they will seek the next remedy (not that I mean that ever they intend to return to France) to preserve their own bodies, whatsoever become of the country, which our enemies may easily occupy; and when they have so done, make your account what may ensue towards yourself.”¹

It was the policy of Elizabeth, at this time, to distress France through Scotland. The establishment of the Reformation, according to the model dictated by the stern anti-prelatical opinions of Knox, was not the aim to which she directed her efforts: she hated the man,² and considered the book which he had written against female government, an audacious and inexpiable offence. No concessions or explanations could disarm her resentment: she forbade him to set foot within her dominions; and to his repeated applications, that he might be permitted to preach in the north of England, Cecil her minister was compelled to turn a deaf ear. Nor is this any matter of wonder, when we consider that the individual attachments of this princess were strongly on the side of Romanism, and that Knox considered the Reformation in England as scarcely one remove from Popery. But

Prior of St Andrews to Sir James Crofts, 6th August, 1559, Stirling.
It is signed by both Argyle and Moray, but the body of the letter is in the handwriting of Knox.

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Knox to Sir J. Crofts, 6th Aug. 1559.

² Sadler, vol. i. pp. 569, 570. Also, ibid. pp. 532, 535.

although lukewarm in the cause of the Reformation, and desirous of peace with France, she was well aware of the gigantic schemes of ambition conceived by the house of Guise. Her jealousy had been roused to the last degree by the attack upon her right to the throne, and assumption of her arms and title, which had been early made by the Queen of Scots ; and she dreaded the effect which the establishment of French influence and the overthrow of the party of the congregation must produce upon the great body of her Roman Catholic subjects in England and Ireland.

Under these circumstances, without actually breaking with France, she encouraged the Protestants to revolt against the authority of the queen-dowager ; and, in reply to their repeated applications for money, Cecil hinted in his letters, as we have already seen, that they ought not to neglect the opportunity now afforded them, to strip the Romish church of its pomp and wealth, and apply “good things to good uses.”¹ It is important to attend to the reply made by the Lord James and Argyle (in name of the rest of the brethren) to such advice. “ We are not ignorant,” they said, “ that our enemies, the popish kirkmen, are crafty, rich, malicious, and bloodthirsty, and most gladly would we have their riches otherwise bestowed. But, consider, sir, that we have against us the established authority, which did ever favour you and Denmark both, in all your reformations ; and therefore, that without support we cannot bring them to such obedience as we desire. The danger, imminent by the army prepared against us in France, moved us first to seek your support, and after to send our other messenger, Maister Knox, with fuller instructions to

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, quoted above, (p. 81,) 28th July, 1559.

Sir James Crofts, which we suppose ye have received * *.¹ We have tempted the duke by all means possible, but as yet of him have no certainty other than a general promise that he will not be our enemy. * * We cease not to provoke all men to favour our cause, and of our nobility we have established a council; but suddenly to discharge this authority² till that ye and we be fully accorded, it is not thought expedient.”³

From this avowal it is evident that the intentions of the Congregation had undergone a material alteration. Some little time before,⁴ they had declared in their letter to Cecil, that any alteration in authority —by which we must understand a revolt against the queen-dowager for the purpose of introducing a change in the civil government of the country—had not entered into their hearts, unless extreme necessity compelled them to it; their single purpose being to advance the glory of Christ, to remove superstition and idolatry, and to maintain the liberty of their country against the tyranny of strangers: the remonstrances and encouragement of Elizabeth had now effected an important change. They had earnestly laboured to seduce the Duke of Chastelherault from his allegiance, with a view, probably, of restoring him to the regency; they had established a council; and only waited a full agreement with England to depose the queen-dowager from her authority, and substitute some more favoured individual of their own party in her stead.

Who this should be was a question which did not

¹ This alludes to the instructions quoted above in p. 85, dated 31st July, 1559. MS. State-paper Office.

² “To discharge this authority:” the phrase appears to be equivalent to “the renunciation of their allegiance and setting up a rival government.”

³ MS. State-paper Office, 13th August, 1559, Glasgow. Subscribed, your loving and assured friends, in the name of the rest.

⁴ On the 19th July, 1559.

fail to present itself to the English court, and Elizabeth seems to have looked to two noble persons. The first was the Earl of Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Chastelherault, next heir to the crown after the young queen, and lately captain of the Scottish Guard in France. Having embraced the opinions of the reformers, and engaged in intrigues with England, he had become an object of suspicion to the French government, which had stript him of his preferments, and was about to throw him into prison, when he escaped to Geneva. It had early occurred to Cecil, that the presence of this young nobleman in Scotland would be useful as a check on the influence of the queen-dowager. Letters were therefore sent to recall him home, and every means taken to persuade his father to resist the regent. In Elizabeth's instructions to Sir Ralph Sadler, when she was about to send him into that country,¹ this minister was directed to exhort the duke, for "preservation of the expectant interest which he hath to the crown, if God call the young queen before she have issue, to withstand [resist] the governance of that realm by any other than the blood of Scotland." He was directed to quote the late example of the King of Spain, who, although husband to the Queen of England, committed no charge of any manner of office, spiritual or temporal, to a stranger; and of his father Charles the Fifth, who governed his countries of Flanders and Brabant by their own nation; and to warn Arran that the French, under pretence of putting down the Reformation, would never be satisfied till they had subjugated the realm, and utterly extirpated his house.² Neither the duke, however,

¹ 8th August, 1559.

² MS. Instructions, State-paper Office, 8th August, 1559. Backed in Cecil's hand, Sir Ralf Sadler. Memorial of things to be imparted to the Queen's Majesty.

nor his son the Earl of Arran, possessed abilities sufficient for the high and difficult part thus allotted to them. Chastelherault, timid, irresolute, and indolent, was content to be neutral, and coveted repose. On the other hand, Arran his son was willing enough to engage in any schemes which promised advantage to himself, and his ambition even aspired so high as to a marriage with the English queen; but the vigour, ability, and self-command, requisite in the leader of a party, were completely wanting in this young nobleman: vain, passionate, and capricious, his designs were adopted without consideration, and, upon the first appearance of difficulty, abandoned with precipitation and disgust. All this weakness, however, was not yet discovered, and for the present he was employed and flattered with the hopes of advancement.

But Elizabeth, and still more her able minister Cecil, had their eye upon another and a very different person, the Lord James, natural son of James the Fifth, afterwards the noted Regent Moray, and regarded, even at this time, when he had not completed his twenty-sixth year,¹ as the most influential leader in the Congregation. There is every reason to believe that his attachment to the principles of the Reformation was sincere, and that at first he proposed no other end in taking so prominent a lead than to procure liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of his religion for himself and his adherents. But personal ambition and the love of power were deeply planted in his character; his mind was one of no ordinary cast; and when he began to busy himself in public life, a very short period sufficed to make him feel his talents, and take pleasure in the eminence they conferred upon him.

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office. Randolph to Killigrew, April 1560. Backed by Cecil.

Educated for the church, first in his own country, and afterwards at the schools in France, he acquired habits of study, and a cultivation of mind superior to the barons by whom he was surrounded. He had early attached to himself some of those able and unscrupulous men, who at this time were to be found in the profession of the law, or in the church; men who combined the craft and intrigue of civilized life with the ferocity of a still feudal age. But whilst he used their assistance, his own powers of application were so great, as scarcely to require it; his acquaintance with European politics, superior to most of those with whom he acted, enabled him to transact business and conduct his correspondence with uncommon clearness, brevity, and precision. His knowledge of human nature was profound: he possessed that rapid intuitive insight into the dispositions of those with whom he acted, which taught him to select with readiness, and to employ with success, those best calculated to carry forward his designs; and it was his peculiar art to appear to do nothing, whilst, in truth, he did all. There was a bluntness, openness, and honesty, about his manner, which disarmed suspicion and disposed men to unbosom themselves to him with equal readiness and sincerity; yet when the conference was ended, they were often surprised to find that the confidence had been altogether on one side; they had revealed their own purposes, and Moray, with all his apparent frankness, had betrayed none of his secrets. There is, perhaps, no kind of man more dangerous in public life, than he who conceals matured purposes under a negligent and careless exterior; and if to this we add, that his talents in war were of a superior order—that he was brave, almost to rashness, that his address was dignified, and his countenance noble

and kingly, we shall be at no loss to comprehend the extraordinary influence which such a man had acquired, not only over his own party, but in England and on the continent.

It had begun to be whispered in France, as we have seen, and at the English court, that Moray aimed secretly at the crown. When Cecil drew up his Instructions for Sir Ralph Sadler, he was directed to investigate whether the Lord James, whose power with the Congregation appeared to be daily on the increase, did really look so high; and it was added, "If he do, and the duke be found very cold in his own causes, it shall not be amiss to let him follow his own device therein, without dissuading or persuading him any thing therein."¹ A letter written a few days after this by Knox to Sir William Cecil, describes the condition of the reformed party, and their anxiety for assistance from England, in strong terms. "The case of these gentlemen standeth thus: that unless without delay money be furnished to pay their soldiers, who in number are now but five hundred, for their service by-past, and to retain another thousand footmen, with three hundred horsemen for a time, they will be compelled every man to seek the next way for his own safety. I am assured (as flesh may be of flesh) that some of them will take a very hard life before that ever they compone either with the queen-regent or with France; but this I dare not promise of all, unless in you they see greater forwardness to their support. To aid us so liberally as we require to some of you will appear excessive, and to displease France to many will appear dangerous; but, sir, I hope that ye consider that our destruction were your

¹ MS. State-paper Office, Aug. 8, 1559. Backed by Cecil, Sir Ralf Saddler.

greatest loss, and that when France shall be our full master (which God avert) they will be but slender friends to you. Lord Bettancourt¹ bragged in his credit, after he had delivered his menacing letter to the prior,² that the king and his council would spend the crown of France, unless they had our full obedience: I am assured, that unless they had a farther respect, they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt some of our great men with money; and some of our number are so poor, (as before I wrote,) that without support they cannot serve. Some they threaten, and against others they have raised up a party in their own country. In this meantime, if you lie as manacled, what will be the end you may easily conclude. Some of the council, immediately after the sight of your letters, departed, not well appeased. The Earl of Argyle is gone to his country for putting order to the same, and mindeth shortly to return with his force, if assurance be had of your support; and likewise will the gentlemen in these lower parts put themselves in readiness to enterprise the uttermost, if ye will assist with them: and therefore, in the bowels of Christ Jesus, I require you, sir, to make plain answer what they may lippen³ to, and at what time their support shall be in readiness. Some danger is in the drift of time: in such matters ye are not ignorant. It was much marvelled that the queen's majesty wrote no manner of answer, considering that her good father, the most noble and most redoubted of his time, disdained not, lovingly, to write to men fewer in number and far inferior in authority and

¹ The Sieur de Bettancourt, ambassador from the French court. See postea, p. 98.

² The Lord James. He was Prior of St Andrews.

³ To lippen; to trust.

power, than be those that wrote to her grace."¹ This concluding sentence is worthy of notice, for Knox evidently alludes to the correspondence of Henry the Eighth with the murderers of the Cardinal Beaton; and his expressions go far, I think, to intimate his approval of their conduct and of Henry's encouragement of them.

These strong representations had the desired effect. Sir Ralph Sadler was sent to Berwick for the purpose of managing the correspondence between the reformers and the English court.² He assured them of immediate pecuniary assistance, and carried with him three thousand pounds,³ which Elizabeth directed to be applied with such secrecy and discretion, as not to impair the treaties of peace lately concluded with Scotland.⁴ On his arrival, he found a messenger from Knox, by whom he was assured, that if the queen would furnish them with money to pay a body of fifteen hundred arquebuses, and three hundred horse, they would soon not only expel the French from Scotland, but achieve their whole purpose.⁵ Some little time after this,⁶ Balnaves, a zealous adherent of the Congregation and an intimate friend of Knox, repaired privately to Berwick, where he held a long consultation with Sir Ralph Sadler, and fully explained the views of the

¹ Original MS. letter, State-paper Office, St Andrews, 15th August, 1559, backed in Cecil's hand, Mr Knox. I have gone into greater length in this part of the history, which involves the causes and motives connected with the early annals of the Reformation, because many of the letters which I have given were unknown to Dr M'Crie, others have been printed in his Life of Knox, but incorrectly, with many passages omitted, (owing to his not having had the originals before him,) and the period, one of great importance, has been far too slightly treated by our general historians.

² 20th August, 1559.

³ As to the mode in which the money was to be advanced to the Protestants, see Sadler, vol. i. p. 439.

⁴ Sadler's State Papers, by Scott, vol. i. pp. 392, 399.

⁵ Ibid. p. 400.

⁶ 8th September, 1559.

Protestants. He assured him that the breach between them and the queen-regent was now incurable ; that having advanced so far in their resistance, they must go forward with the matter, or lose their lives ; that whatever pretence they made, the principal mark they shot at was, to introduce an alteration of the state and authority, to depose the regent, place the supreme power in the hands of the duke, or his son the Earl of Arran, and then enter into open treaty with England, according to the exigency of the case. So well satisfied was Sadler with the representations of this zealous partisan, that he paid him two thousand pounds, to be delivered to the leaders of the Congregation for the maintenance of their troops, and assured him that some steps should be taken for the relief of Kirkaldy, Ormiston, Whitelaw, and others. These men, it appears, were in distress, owing to the sums they had already spent in this service, and to their pensions from France having been stopped since they had taken part with the Congregation.¹

It happened, by a singular coincidence, that whilst these schemes for the advancement of Arran formed the subject of a midnight conference in the castle of Berwick, that young earl himself alighted at the gate, only three hours after the entrance of Balnaves ; but all was managed so secretly, that both were for some time under the same roof without being aware of the circumstance. It was judged right, however, that they should meet, and after a brief but joyful interview, Balnaves departed, under cover of night, to Holy Island ; from which, carrying the money with him, he arrived at the head-quarters of the Congregation. Arran, having disguised himself, assumed the name of Monsieur de

¹ Sadler, vol. i. pp. 434, 435. Arrival of the French, Sadler, vol. i. pp. 403-411. Keith, pp. 101, 102.

Beaufort, and passed into Teviotdale, from whence he was conducted to his father in the castle of Hamilton.¹ Yet all this was transacted, according to the express directions of Cecil, with such secrecy, that for some time it was not known that he was in Scotland.²

This assistance from Elizabeth came very opportunely to enable the Congregation to resist the decided measures of France and the queen-regent. In the beginning of August, the Sieur de Bettancourt had arrived from the French court. He assured the queen that an army, commanded by her brother the Marquis D'Elbeuf, would speedily embark for Scotland. He brought letters from the King and Queen of France to the Lord James, whom they regarded as the chief leader of the Protestants. They reminded him of the benefits he had received from France, upbraided him with his ingratitude, and threatened him with absolute ruin if he persisted in his rebellious courses. To these accusations Moray directed a temperate, though an insincere reply. He professed himself to be solely actuated by a zeal for the truth and the glory of God : and he declared, for himself and the rest of the Congregation, that, except upon the subject of religion, they would be faithful to their sovereign, and detested the crime of sedition.³

Preparations for war now rapidly advanced. In the end of August a force of a thousand men, under the command of an Italian officer named Octavian, had disembarked at Leith ; and with these the queen-dowager began to intrench and fortify that port. She despatched their leader back to France, with an earnest request for a larger reinforcement ; she

¹ Sadler, vol. i. pp. 435, 450, 461.

² For Arran's arrival, 16th September, see Sadler, vol. i. p. 447.

³ Knox, p. 167. Spottiswood, p. 131.

warned the French court that her adversaries were in active correspondence with England, Germany, and Denmark; stated the necessity for immediate exertion, before they were allowed to concentrate their strength; and assured them that, with four ships of war to cruise in the Firth, an additional thousand men, and a hundred barbed horse, she would undertake to reduce the kingdom to peace.¹ This, however, was not so easily effected. The people had been long dissatisfied with the French troops, whose stay in Scotland was expensive and troublesome; the partiality of the regent to her own nation had excited disgust; the reformed preachers perambulated the country, and in their discourses won the people to their devotion, not only on the great subject of religion, but so eloquently declaimed against the alleged conspiracy of the regent, for the subjugation of the realm under a foreign yoke, that the arrival of a new auxiliary force was viewed with the utmost jealousy and aversion.² A more pacific mission, indeed, succeeded this warlike demonstration, consisting of the Bishop of Amiens and two learned doctors of the Sorbonne; but although this foreign prelate came as legate *à latere* from the pope, and his companions earnestly laboured to reconcile the reformers to the ancient faith, their united efforts to "purge the church and the people from heretical pollutions" were unavailing. Nor was the legate completely a messenger of peace; for along with him came La Brosse a French officer, two hundred men,³ and a company of eighty horse.⁴

¹ Keith, p. 102.

² British Museum, Caligula, book x. fol. 38. MS. letter, Henry Balnaves to Sir R. Sadler and Sir J. Crofts, Stirling, 22d September, 1559.

³ Sadler, State Papers, vol. i. pp. 417, 464, 470, 475.

⁴ They arrived in three ships, on 24th September, 1559. Caligula, book x. fol. 39. Sadler and Crofts to Cecil, Berwick, Sept. 27, 1559.

Both sides now resolved on war; and on the arrival of Arran, a secret consultation having been held at Hamilton with the principal leaders of the Congregation,¹ the duke, who had hitherto been neutral, agreed to join their party, and signed those covenants by which they bound themselves to subvert the Roman Catholic faith, to overturn the government of the regent, and to expel the French from the country.² A message was then transmitted to the queen, requiring her to desist from the fortification of Leith; to which she answered with spirit, that it was as lawful for her daughter to strengthen her own seaport, without asking leave of the nobility, as for the duke to build at Hamilton; nor would she stay her proceedings unless compelled by force. This challenge on the part of the reformers was premature and ill-judged. They could not, at the earliest, assemble their whole force before the 15th of October; they were not certain of a second supply of money from England; the duke, although now one of their party, was timid and irresolute; Argyle was occupied in a struggle against Macconnell in his own country; and Huntley, although disposed to favour their proceedings, was not yet separated entirely from the queen-regent. Instead, therefore, of being able to follow up their warlike message by any hostile attack, they contented themselves with the occupation of Broughty craig, a strong fortified castle in the mouth of the Tay, and granted a commission to Glencairn and Erskine of Dun to recommence their proceedings against the religious houses,

¹ See an important letter in Mr Stevenson's Illustrations of the Reign of Mary, p. 73. Arran to Sir William Cecil, 21st September, 1559.

² MS. letter, British Museum, Caligula, book x. fol. 38. Henry Balnaves to Sadler and Crofts, 22d September, 1559.

by suppressing and purging the abbey of Paisley of idolatry.¹

Soon after this their cause gained an important accession. Thomas Randall or Randolph, afterwards Sir Thomas Randolph, who had become acquainted with the Earl of Arran at Geneva, at the earnest request of this young nobleman was sent after him into Scotland. What was the particular tie which attached so able and busy an intriguer as Randolph to the fortunes of Arran, does not appear, but Cecil lost no time in seconding his wishes ; and the presence of this English agent, who arrived with much secrecy at Hamilton in the end of September,² was of essential service in imparting energy and promptitude to the measures of the reformers. But this was not all : Maitland of Lethington, the secretary to the queen-regent, a man whose talents as a statesman were of the highest order, and who had long professed himself a friend to the reformed doctrines, now secretly joined their party ; and although for a while he still openly adhered to the queen, betrayed her counsels and most private affairs to her enemies.

Matters now proceeded with more decision and rapidity.³ On the 15th of October the Congregation assembled their force : it amounted to twelve thousand men ; and next day they advanced to Edinburgh, which they occupied without resistance, the regent having retired within the fortifications of Leith. One council for civil affairs and another for matters of religion was then appointed.⁴ In the first were included the duke, his son the Earl of Arran, the Earls

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 465. Also, pp. 500, 507.

² Ibid. p. 474.

³ Ibid. p. 498. MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 383.

⁴ Original, State-paper Office, backed by Cecil, 10th November, 1559, Intelligence out of Scotland.

of Argyle and Glencairn, the Lord James, with the Lords Ruthven, Boyd, Maxwell, the Laird of Dun, Henry Balnaves, Kirkaldy of Grange, and the provost of Dundee. The second, for religion, embraced Knox, Goodman, and the Bishop of Galloway, who had renounced his former faith, and embraced the principles of the Protestants. They next addressed a letter to the queen, requiring her instantly to command all foreigners and men-at-arms to depart from the town of Leith, and leave it free and open to the subjects of the realm. She replied, that their letter appeared, from its tone, rather to come from a prince to his subjects than from subjects to a prince; that it was ridiculous to talk of foreigners making a conquest of the realm, since Frenchmen were neutralized subjects, and Scotland united to France by marriage; and she concluded by commanding the duke and his company, under pain of treason, to depart from the capital.

The Lord Lion, who brought this message from the queen, was requested to await his answer; and the whole Congregation, consisting of the nobles, barons, and burgesses of their faction, assembled in the Tolbooth of the city on the 21st of October.

At this meeting the question of the deposition of the regent was debated with much solemnity. It was urged by Lord Ruthven, who was chosen president, that since she, who was not their natural born sovereign, but only a regent, had contemptuously refused the requests of those who by birth were councillors of the realm, and since her pretences threatened to bring the commonwealth into bondage, she ought no longer to be permitted to domineer over them: he proposed, therefore, that she should be deposed; and much diversity of opinion having been expressed, they requested the advice of their preachers.

On this delicate subject much thought and discussion had already taken place. We have seen, indeed, that the deprivation of the queen, and the alteration of the civil government, had been contemplated some time before. Willock spoke first, and having enlarged on the divine ordinance of magistracy, he stated its limitations by the Word of God, and quoted the examples of the depositions of kings which occurred in the Scriptures. He then adverted to the oppression inflicted on them by the queen-regent, whom he denominated an open and obstinate idolatress. She had refused them justice; she had invaded their liberties; she had prevented the preaching of God's Word; and had not scrupled to declare that their country was no longer a free and independent realm, but an appanage of France: such being her conduct, he could see no reason why they, the born councillors of the realm, should scruple to divest her of all authority amongst them.¹ This judgment was corroborated, though somewhat more guardedly, by Knox. He approved, he said, of the sentiments of his brother, but warned them that no malversation of the regent ought to withdraw their hearts from the obedience due to their sovereigns, and protested that they ought deeply to examine their own motives. If, he said, the present grave and momentous proceeding originated not from the desire to preserve their commonwealth, but was dictated by private malice and envy, they need not expect to escape the wrath of God; and lastly, he observed, that, upon her repentance and submission to the nobility, they were undoubtedly bound to restore her to the same honours of which she was now deprived.²

¹ Keith, pp. 104, 105.

² MS. Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 386, 387; and British Museum, Caligula, book x. fol. 42.

Such being the decision of their ministers, the votes of the assembly were individually taken: it was resolved, without a dissenting voice, that the regent should be suspended from her authority, and the act for this purpose was immediately drawn up, and proclaimed publicly to the people.¹ It remained only to communicate it to the regent; and for this purpose a letter was addressed to her and delivered to the Lion herald. It informed her that they had received her message, and understood, from the terms in which it was conceived, her determined opposition to the glory of God, the liberty of the realm, and the welfare of the nobles; for saving of which, it continued, we have in our sovereign lord and lady's name suspended your commission, and all administration of the policy your grace may pretend thereby; being most assuredly persuaded, that your proceedings are direct contrary to our sovereign lord and lady's will, whom we ever esteem to be for the weal and not for the hurt of this our commonweal. "And," it proceeded, "as your grace will not acknowledge us, our sovereign lord and lady's true barons, for your subjects and council, no more will we acknowledge you for any regent or lawful magistrate unto us. Seeing, if any authority ye have, by reason of our sovereign's commission granted unto your grace, the same for most weighty reasons is worthily suspended by us, by name and authority of our sovereigns, whose council we are, of native birth, in the affairs of this our commonweal."²

It must be admitted, that this violent and unprecedented measure, although attempted to be concealed under the name and authority of the sovereign, was an

¹ October 22, 1559.

² Keith, p. 105.

act of open rebellion, and that to attempt to justify their proceedings, under the allegation that they were born councillors of the realm, was a specious but unsound pretence. Their birth entitled some of them to sit in parliament, but could never bestow upon them the power to constitute themselves a self-elected council, without the intervention of the royal authority or any meeting of the three estates. Having, however, thus boldly begun, it was judged right to proceed in the same strain: on the 25th a herald was sent to summon all French and Scottish soldiers to leave the town of Leith, within twelve hours. This being disregarded, preparations were made for the assault, and scaling-ladders were ordered to be prepared in the aisles of the High Church of St Giles, much to the annoyance of the preachers, who predicted, that an enterprise begun in sacrilege must end in defeat.¹ Nor was it long before these gloomy anticipations were fulfilled: the money given to Balnaves, and a small additional sum brought by Randolph, was now spent; the soldiers of the Congregation clamoured for pay, and breaking into mutiny, offered their services to any Catholic or Protestant master who would pay them their wages; the army, lately twelve thousand strong, but composed of inferior vassals who could not remain long in the field, diminished daily; consternation seized the minds of their leaders; and it was evident that, without additional assistance, their great enterprise was at an end. To comfort them, Elizabeth, at the earnest entreaties of Cecil, forgot her parsimony, and intrusted four thousand pounds to Cockburn of Ormiston, a zealous adherent of the cause, who undertook the dangerous commission of carrying it

¹ Knox, p. 200. British Museum, Caligula, book x. fol. 47, dorso. The Scottish Lords to Sir Ralph Sadler, 6th November, 1559.

to head quarters; but he was waylaid, wounded, and robbed of the whole by the Earl of Bothwell, and the Congregation thrown into extreme distress.¹ The action was the more treacherous, as Bothwell, afterwards so notorious for his crimes, was at this moment in secret correspondence with the reformers, and had professed attachment to their cause. To this succeeded another calamity: Haliburton provost of Dundee, and reputed one of the best military leaders in the country, conducted a party of his townsmen to besiege Leith, and had planted some great ordnance on an eminence near Holyrood. During the absence of many of the leaders of the Congregation, who had gone to the sermon, which lasted till noon, the French attacked the battery, and defeating his party with great loss, pursued them into the streets of the city, where they had the cruelty to slay not only several aged persons who could make no resistance, but to murder a woman in cold blood, with an infant at her breast.² On their return to Leith, the queen-regent, sitting on the ramparts, welcomed her victorious soldiers, and smiled to see them loaded with the homely and multifarious plunder of the houses of her poor citizens. We cannot wonder that the popularity of this princess was on the wane, yet her affairs continued to prosper; and her enemies, divided in opinion and despairing of support, became weakened by desertion and spiritless in their exertion. On the 5th November the French sallied from Leith, with the purpose of intercepting a convoy carrying provisions into Edinburgh. Arran and the Lord James attacked them at the head of a small company, but pushing into difficult

¹ Sadler's State Papers, pp. 538, 539. MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 393. MS. State-paper Office, Intelligence out of Scotland, Nov. 10, 1559.

² MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 394.

ground, they got entangled between the morass of Restalrig and the moat surrounding the park, and falling into confusion, were defeated with great loss. Haliburton, to whose exertions it was owing that they were not entirely cut to pieces, fell in this action ; and although the Lord James and Arran escaped, its consequences were so fatal, that the Congregation abandoned the town at midnight, and retired precipitately, first to Linlithgow and afterwards to Stirling.¹ The capital had generally been esteemed peculiarly favourable to the reformers ; but the late disasters cooled the ardour of many of their proselytes, and they retreated amidst the shouts and insults of a great proportion of the citizens.²

At this season of trial and distress, the courage and eloquence of Knox wonderfully supported his party. Whilst yet in Edinburgh, he had commenced a sermon on the 80th Psalm, in which he demonstrated that the felicity of God's people was not to be measured by external appearances, since, in the course of their history, it had often happened that his chosen flock suffered more severely than the ignorant and idolatrous heathen. At Stirling he continued the subject ; warned the Congregation of their sin in trusting too much to an arm of flesh ; reminded them of their humility and holiness, when, at the commencement of this great struggle, they had only God for their protector ; and bade them beware, lest they had more respect to the power and dignity of their leader, the duke, than to the favour of heaven and the equity of their cause. Passing from this to a personal exhortation, he re-

¹ 8th November, 1559.

² MS. Calderwood, pp. 399, 400. Sadler, vol. i. p. 554. MS. letter, State-paper Office, 10th November, 1559, Intelligence out of Scotland. Also, MS. State-paper Office, Randolph to Sir Ralph Sadler, 11th Nov. 1559.

proached Chastelherault with his slowness to join the reformers, and pointed out the sin he had committed in giving assistance to their enemies. "I am uncertain," said he, "if my lord's grace hath unfeignedly repented of his assistance given to the murderers who unjustly pursued us: I am uncertain if he hath repented of the innocent blood of Christ's martyrs, which was shed through his default. But let it be that so he hath done, (as I hear he hath confessed his offence before the lords and brethren of the Congregation,) yet, sure I am, that neither he nor his friends did feel before this time the anguish and grief of heart which we felt when their blind fury pursued us; and therefore hath God justly permitted both them and us to fall in this confusion: us, because we put our confidence in man; and them, to make them feel how bitter was that cup which they had made others to drink before them. What then remaineth," said he, "but that both they and we turn to the Eternal, our God, who beateth down to death that he may raise up again, to leave behind the remembrance of his wondrous deliverance to the praise of his own name, which, if we do unfeignedly, I no more doubt that this our dolour, confusion, and fear, shall be turned into joy, honour, and boldness, than I doubt that God gave victory to the Israelites over the Benjamites, after they were twice with ignominy repulsed and driven back. Be assured," he concluded, with that fervour of expression and manner which gave weight and entrance to every syllable, "this cause, whatever becomes of us and our mortal carcasses, shall, in despite of Satan, prevail in this realm of Scotland: it is the eternal truth of God; and, however for the time oppressed, must in the end be triumphant."¹

¹ Knox's History, p. 210.

Animated by this address, the leaders met in council, and after prayer by Knox, it was resolved instantly to despatch Maitland of Lethington to solicit assistance from Elizabeth ; at the same time, being unable to keep the field, they determined, till an answer arrived from England, to separate into two parties. The duke, with the Earl of Glencairn, and the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree, remained at Glasgow with their friends, for the comfort and defence of the brethren ; Arran, the Lord James, the Earl of Rothes, the Master of Lindsay, and their adherents, continued in Fife ;¹ and it was resolved, that on the 16th December a convention should be held at Stirling, with the view of deciding upon more active operations.

On the retreat of the Protestants from the capital, the town was immediately occupied by the queen-regent ; but all her attempts to procure possession of the castle were unavailing. Its governor, Lord Erskine, declared, that as it had been committed to his charge by the parliament of Scotland,² nothing but an order of the same great council would induce him to surrender it ; and although alternately flattered and threatened by both parties, he appears honestly to have kept his resolution. Yet, it was evident that the regent had gained important ground ; her successes imparted confidence to her soldiers ; and the news having been carried to France, great preparations were made to send such a force into Scotland as should at once crush the Congregation and put an end to the war.

But Elizabeth became at length convinced that such a result would weaken the power and endanger the

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Balnaves to Cecil, 19th Nov. 1559.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, 10th December, 1559. Alexander Whitelaw to Cecil.

tranquillity of England ; nor could the reformers have selected a more able envoy than Maitland of Lethington to confirm her in this idea.¹ He represented to her, in strong terms, the impossibility of their being able to cope with the veteran troops of France, unless she supported them by an open demonstration in their favour, and sent a naval and military force to their assistance. The great difficulty lay in the circumstance, that both countries were at peace, and that any active co-operation with the reformed faction would justly be considered as an open declaration of war. Some time before this² Knox had suggested to Sir James Crofts, the governor of Berwick, a crafty political expedient, by which a thousand or more men might, without breach of league with France, be sent to their assistance in Scotland.³ It was free, he said, for English subjects to serve any nation or prince in war, who paid their wages ; and if this was questioned, he recommended that Elizabeth should first send the auxiliaries into Scotland, and then declare them rebels after they had embraced the service of the Congregation.⁴ Crofts either was, or affected to be, shocked by such advice at the time ;⁵ but on the arrival of Maitland at the English court, his representations of the desperate condition of the affairs of the Protestants induced Elizabeth and her council to adopt a line of policy essentially the same as that recommended by the Reformer. It was resolved to enter into an agreement or league with the leaders of the Congregation, the terms of which were to be discussed in a secret meeting of commissioners from both countries, to be

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 565.

² On the 25th October, 1559.

³ British Museum, Caligula, book x. fol. 43. Knox, under the feigned name of John Sinclair, to Crofts, 25th October, 1559.

⁴ Keith, Appendix, pp. 39, 40, 41.

⁵ Sadler, vol. i. pp. 523, 524.

held at Berwick. Preparations, at the same time, were made for the equipment of a fleet, which was to cruise in the Firth; and orders were given to assemble an army, which might co-operate with the reduced forces of the Protestants. This grateful intelligence was brought to the reformers on the 15th of December, by Robert Melvill, who, along with Randolph, had accompanied Lethington to the English court, and enjoyed the confidence of Elizabeth.¹

It is curious to observe the extraordinary circumspection and care used by the English queen in the steps which she now took. She transmitted to the reformers exact directions regarding the manner in which they were to apply to her for relief. The instructions to Lethington, when he took his journey to the English court, were drawn up in strict conformity to a paper sent by Cecil; and special pains were taken, that in the application which they made, there was no mention of religion. The single ground upon which they entreated succour from England, was the tyranny of France, the evident intention of that kingdom to make a conquest of Scotland, and ultimately to dispossess Elizabeth of the throne.² "Most true it is," say they, "that this practice of the French is not attempted only against this kingdom of Scotland, but also against the crown and kingdom of England and Ireland; for we know most certainly, that the French have devised to spread abroad, though most falsely, that our queen is right heir to England and Ireland; and, to notify the same to the world, have, in paintings at public jousts in France and other places, this year caused the arms of England,

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 647. Also, British Museum, Caligula, book x. fol. 57. MS. Instructions to Winter.

² Sadler, vol. i. p. 589.

contrary to all right, to be borne quarterly with the arms of Scotland, meaning nothing less than any augmentation to Scotland, but to annex them both perpetually to the crown of France."¹ We have here a strong presumption that Elizabeth was inimical to what she esteemed the ultra-Protestant Reformation established in Scotland; nor can it be denied, that this transaction presents us with a somewhat mortifying view of the early reformers in this country, when we find, that after all the solemn warnings denounced against trusting too exclusively to an arm of flesh, Knox, who then acted as secretary to the council of the Congregation in the west, and Balnaves, who filled the same situation in the council established at Glasgow, consented to purchase the co-operation of mere human power, by omitting all allusion to that great cause of religious reformation which they had so repeatedly represented as the paramount object for which they had taken up arms, and were ready to sacrifice their lives.

During the interval occupied by the mission of Lethington to England, neither party was idle. The queen-dowager eagerly availed herself of the advantages she had gained. She despatched Monsieur de Rubay to remonstrate with Elizabeth against the support which she had given to her rebellious subjects;² she occupied the capital, and afterwards carried the war into Fife, where she exerted herself to disperse and defeat the little band there commanded

¹ This sentence is, in great part, a transcript of the instructions drawn up by Elizabeth. See Sadler, p. 570.

² MS. letter, draft by Cecil, State-paper Office. Queen Elizabeth to the Queen-dowager, 28th November, 1559. See also Mr. Stevenson's Illustrations, p. 78. The Lord James to Sir R. Sadler and Sir J. Crofts, November 17, 1559. Also, Caligula, British Museum, book x. 53 dorso.

by Arran and the Lord James. These leaders, however, who had gained in military experience, were able to keep the French in check; and a seasonable supply of money, which they received early in December, communicated fresh spirits to their party, and encouraged them to levy an additional force of one thousand foot and two hundred horse.¹ At Glasgow, the duke confined his efforts to what was termed the “abolition of idolatry.” His reformation, however, was one of a very active and violent description: not only did he cause all the images, altars, and relics within the churches to be pulled down, but he attacked and took possession of the palace of the archbishop, from which he was with difficulty expelled by the French. Soon after this,² a proclamation was made at Glasgow: it ran in the name of Francis and Mary, king and queen of Scots, and informed those misguided subjects who still respected the authority of the queen-dowager, that her whole power had been devolved upon the lords of the privy council who were reformed. Their chief aim, they declared, was to advance the glory of God, and to remove idolatry; for which end they commanded all such clergymen as had not yet made open confession of their faith, to appear before the council at St Andrews, and there give full proof of their conversion by a public renunciation of all manner of superstition, under the penalty of losing their benefices and being reputed enemies to God.³ Nor was this all. In the beginning of the following month, the council of the Congregation at Dundee, in the name of the king and queen, directed their denunciations against the Consistory, which they denominated the court of Antichrist, whose cursings

¹ Sadler, vol. i. pp. 631, 632.

² 30th Nov. 1559.

³ Keith, p. 111.

and threatenings, they affirmed, had greatly oppressed and deluded the people. They commanded that no such assembly should afterwards be held, and interdicted such wicked persons as had dared to disobey this injunction, from any repetition of their offence, under pain of death.¹ It is certain, therefore, that the Congregation, although Elizabeth did not permit them to name the subject of religion, had in no respect departed from their resolution to destroy the ancient faith, and to plant what they esteemed a purer form of doctrine and worship upon its ruins.

The eyes of both parties were now anxiously turned to the sea. The French were aware that the Marquis D'Elbeuf had sailed from Calais with a powerful fleet;² the Protestants knew that Winter, the English admiral, was embarked for Scotland, with a squadron of fourteen ships of war: uncertain, however, of the time they might be detained, it was not judged prudent to risk a defeat;³ and D'Osell the French commander, encouraged by some trifling successes, concentrated his force at Dysart, and began his march along the coast, with the design of attacking St Andrews. At this moment some large vessels were descried bearing up the Firth; and the French soldiers, believing them to be their friends, expressed the utmost exultation. In a short time, however, these hopes were turned into dismay. The stranger ships, hoisting the English colours, proved to be Winter, who, having first seized two victuallers which lay in their course, proceeded and cast anchor in the road. Their arrival intimidated D'Osell; but making a forced and circuitous march by

¹ Keith, p. 112, (14th Dec. 1559.)

² The exact time of the marquis sailing for Scotland is uncertain. On the 30th Dec. Cecil writes he had not sailed. Sadler, vol. i. p. 669.

³ Sadler, vol. i. p. 690. Ibid. p. 697, (January 23, 1559-60.)

Stirling, in which his troops were dreadfully harassed, not only by the snow drifting in their faces, but by the attacks of the Lord James and his cavalry,¹ he at last, with difficulty, regained his fortifications of Leith. Meanwhile, the regent having sent on board the admiral to demand the cause of this visit in a time of peace, was answered, “that his intentions were pacific, and having gone to sea in search of pirates, he had entered the Firth to watch for them there.”² A remonstrance which she directed to be made to Elizabeth by the French ambassador De Sevre, was met by a reply equally evasive. The queen solemnly assured him she respected the treaties, and thought of nothing less than war; but she added, that she saw with uneasiness the increase of the French force in Scotland, and deemed it prudent to strengthen her border garrisons, and observe the progress of their arms. De Sevre then replied, “that what chiefly gave discontentment to his court was, the aid which the Queen of England had given to the Scottish rebels;” to which she answered, “that she could not consider the nobility and nation of Scotland as rebels; she deemed them, on the contrary, wise and faithful subjects to the crown of Scotland, since they had ventured to offend the French king in defence of the rights of his wife their sovereign. And truly,” added she, “if these barons should permit the government of their kingdom to be wrested out of their hands during the absence of their queen; if they tamely gave up the independence of their native country, whilst she used the counsel, not of the Scots, but solely of the French, her mother and other foreigners being her advisers in Scotland, and the cardinal and Duke of

¹ Sadler, vol. i. p. 699. *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 55.

² British Museum, MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 407. Keith, p. 116. Sadler, vol. i. p. 697.

Guise in France, it were a good cause for the world to speak shame of them : nay, if the young queen herself should happen to survive her husband, she would in such a case have just occasion to condemn them all as cowards and unnatural subjects."¹

Having returned this answer, in which there was some little truth, and a large proportion of duplicity, Elizabeth proceeded to give still more decided encouragement to the Congregation. In the end of January, (1559-60,) the Duke of Norfolk arrived at Berwick, and being afterwards met by Maitland, Balnaves, Pitarrow, and Lord Ruthven, who were sent by the Congregation as commissioners,² a treaty was concluded, by which the English queen took under her protection the kingdom of Scotland, with the Duke of Chastelhérault and his party. She engaged to send them assistance, and continue her support till the French should be expelled from the country, and not to abandon the confederated lords as long as they recognized Mary for their queen, and maintained inviolate the rights of the crown. On the other hand, it was agreed by the duke and his friends, that they would join their forces with the army of England ; they promised that no other union of their country with France, than that which then existed, should ever receive their sanction ; they agreed to consider the enemies of England as their own, and if that country should be attacked by France, to furnish the queen with an auxiliary force of four thousand men ; they promised, in the last place, that hostages should immediately be given for the

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, 17th February, 1559. Backed by Cecil, Answer made to the French ambassador, by Sir W. Cecil and Sir — — —.

² Sadler, vol. i. p. 708. Lethington did not leave London to go to Berwick till Feb. 18. See also, British Museum, MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 411.

performance of these articles, and protested that they would continue loyal to the Queen of Scotland and the king her husband, in every thing which did not tend to the overthrow of the ancient laws and liberties of their country.¹

This treaty being concluded, and the hostages having arrived at Berwick, the English army, under the command of Lord Grey, entered Scotland on the 2d of April, 1560. It consisted of two thousand horse and six thousand foot, and was joined at Preston by the army of the Congregation,² led by the duke, the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Menteith, the Lord James, and other principal officers amongst the reformers, and estimated at nearly eight thousand men.

On the advance of the enemy, the queen-regent, alarmed for her personal security, was received by Lord Erskine within the castle of Edinburgh; and the united armies having pushed forward from Preston to Restalrig, a sharp skirmish of cavalry took place, in which the French were beat back with the loss of forty men and a hundred prisoners.³ Having determined to besiege Leith, Lord Grey encamped on the fields to the south and south-east of that seaport; Winter the English admiral opened a cannonade from the fleet, whilst a battery of eight pieces of ordnance commenced firing on the land side, by which the French guns, placed on St Anthony's steeple, were speedily silenced and dismounted. But this advantage, which produced in the combined armies an over confidence and contempt

¹ Keith, pp. 117, 118, 119. Also, British Museum, MS. Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 410, 414, for Instructions to the Scottish commissioners, and Ratification of the Treaty by the Congregation.

² Sadler, vol. i. p. 712. British Museum, MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 416.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, 6th April, 1560. Randolph to Cecil. MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 416. Lesley's History, Bannatyne edit. p. 282.

of discipline, was followed by a more serious action, in which Martignes attacked the English trenches, entered the camp, spiked three cannon, and put about six hundred men to the sword, after which he retreated with little loss to Leith.¹

The Congregation were discouraged, not only by this defeat, but by the coldness and continued neutrality of some of the principal barons who had promised to join their party. Of these the chief was Huntley, whose power in the northern parts of the realm was almost kingly, whilst his attachment to the Catholic faith, and to his own interest, rendered him difficult to be dealt with. He had at length secretly engaged to make common cause with the reformed party, but he delayed from day to day, watching the progress of events, and calculating the probabilities of success, before he declared himself; and he took the precaution of entering into a separate treaty with the duke and the lords, by which he stipulated for the preservation of his authority, and the security of his great possessions in the north.² The original papers drawn up on this occasion disclose an interesting fact, not formerly stated by any historian: the French, it appears, had gained so much influence in the northern parts of the country, that they procured a league to be made amongst the northern nobles, and certain clans and islesmen, by which they engaged to defend, with their whole power, the Catholic faith, and to maintain the French authority within the kingdom. Huntley asserted, and probably with some foundation, that as soon as he joined the Congregation, he would be attacked

¹ 15th April, Lesley, p. 285. Keith, p. 124.

² MS. State-paper Office, My Lord earl of Huntley's desires and counsel. Backed by Randolph. Also, MS. State-paper Office, The Lords' answer to the Earl of Huntley, 18th April, 1560.

as a common enemy by the members of this league; and he was answered by the reformed lords, that as their agreement bound them to mutual defence, as soon as he joined the party he would participate in this obligation and enjoy its benefits.¹

On the 25th of April, Huntley entered the camp, accompanied by sixty horse; and soon after arrived the Bishop of Valence, a commissioner from the court of France, instructed to attempt a mediation between the queen-dowager and the Lords of the Congregation. As Elizabeth had requested he should be heard, the reformers, although indisposed to the negotiation, could not refuse to give him audience; but they insisted that the only basis upon which they could consent to treat, should be, the demolition of the fortifications of Leith, and the expulsion of the French from Scotland. These terms were rejected by the prelate, who upon his part demanded an express renunciation of the league with England. This, it was said, could not be done without the consent of Elizabeth; but they offered to produce the contract to the estates of parliament, and if they found the league prejudicial to the liberty of Scotland, or against their allegiance as true subjects, to use every means to have it dissolved.² Under such circumstances, the conference having broken off, a second covenant was drawn up by the Congregation,³ in which they obliged themselves, not only to support the reformation of religion, the freedom of preaching, and the due administration

¹ MS. State-paper Office, My Lord earl of Huntley's desires and counsel. Backed by Randolph. Also, MS. State-paper Office, The Lords' answer to the Earl of Huntley, 18th April, 1560.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, 26th April, 1560. Also, MS. letter, ibid. Randolph to the Duke of Norfolk, 25th April, 1560, from the camp. Also, British Museum, Caligula, book x. fol. 88, Memorial to the Queen-dowager, by Chaperon, 11th April, 1560.

³ 27th April.

of the sacraments, according to the Word of God, but to resist the tyranny of the French, and to unite for the expulsion of strangers and the recovery of their ancient liberty.¹

After many delays, Huntley at last consented to sign this agreement, and a reinforcement having arrived from England, Lord Grey determined to concentrate his whole efforts upon the siege of Leith, which began to suffer dreadfully from famine. Early in May a general assault was made; but treachery had entered the English camp: Sir James Crofts, to whom the attack upon the quarter towards the sea had been committed, failed to bring forward his division in time; the scaling-ladders, on being applied to the wall, were found too short, and the English, after their utmost efforts, were driven back with severe loss.² The queen-regent availing herself of this success, expressed her deep commiseration for the afflicted state of the country, and requested an interview with the Earls of Huntley and Glencairn, with whom she was ready to enter into a negotiation. Instead, however, of these two noblemen, the Lord James, with Lethington, Lord Ruthven, and the Master of Maxwell, waited upon her; they offered to dismiss their troops, to return to their allegiance, and acknowledge her authority, under the single condition that the French soldiers should depart the realm; and if these terms were accepted, they were ready, they said, to refer all other subjects in dispute to the decision of a parliament. There seems every reason to believe that the regent, if permitted to follow her own opinion, would have closed with these proposals, but her hands were tied by her French

¹ Keith, p. 125.

² Keith, p. 124. See Mr Stevenson's Illustrations of the reign of Mary, p. 80. Letter of the Dowager to D'Osell.

advisers : she requested time to consult La Brosse, D'Osell, and the Bishop of Amiens ; this was refused —apparently unreasonably refused, and the conference came abruptly to an end.¹

The anxiety of the queen-dowager for peace was dictated by her own precarious health. Her constitution, worn out by fatigue and anxiety, was now completely broken : since her retreat within the castle of Edinburgh, she had been repeatedly attacked by severe fits of sickness, and feeling that her period of life would be brief, she laboured to compose the troubles of the kingdom. This charitable design it was not permitted her to accomplish ; but finding herself reduced to such a state of weakness, that death was rapidly approaching, she requested an interview with the leaders of the Congregation.² The Duke of Chastelherault, the Earls of Argyle, Marshal, and Glencairn, with the Lord James, immediately repaired to the castle, and, entering her bedchamber, were welcomed by the dying queen with a kindness and cordiality which deeply moved them. She expressed her grief for the distracted state of the nation, and advised them to send both the French and English forces out of the kingdom ; she declared her unfeigned concern that matters had been pushed to such extremities ; ascribed it to the perverse counsels of the French cabinet, which she found herself obliged to obey, and denounced the crafty and interested advice of Huntley, who had interrupted the conference at Preston, when she was herself ready to have agreed to their proposals. She recommended to them a faithful adherence to their league with France, which was in no degree inconsistent with, but rather necessarily arose out of,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, May 14, 1560, Lethington to Cecil.

² Ibid. 8th June, 1560, Randolph to Cecil.

the obedience they owed to their lawful sovereign and the maintenance of their national liberty. To these advices she added many endearing expressions, and with tears asked pardon of all whom she had in any way offended, declaring that she herself freely forgave the injuries she might have received, and trusted that they should all meet with the same forgiveness at the bar of God. She then, with an expression full of sweetness, though her countenance was pallid and emaciated, embraced and kissed the nobles one by one, extending her hand to those of inferior rank who stood by, as a token of dying charity. It was impossible that so much love, so gently and unaffectedly expressed, should fail to move those to whom it was addressed. The hardy barons, who had lately opposed her with the bitterest rancour, were dissolved in tears; they earnestly requested her to send for some godly and learned man from whom she might receive, not only consolation, but instruction, and on the succeeding day she willingly admitted a visit from Willock:¹ mild in his manner, but faithful to his belief, the minister spoke to the dying princess of the efficacy of the death of Christ, and the abomination of the mass as a relic of idolatry. To the first point, she assured him that she looked for salvation in no other way than in and through the death of her Saviour; to the second she quietly declined to give an answer, and on the succeeding day expired, full of faith and hope.²

Had she been permitted to follow her own excellent understanding, there seems little doubt that the queen-regent would have succeeded in composing the differences which so grievously distracted the kingdom,

¹ Keith, p. 128. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, 8th June, 1560, Randolph to Cecil.

² Ibid. She died on the 10th of June, 1560.

and threw so deep a gloom over the concluding years of her government. Possessed, according to the testimony of writers whose opposite principles render their evidence unsuspected, of a sound and clear intellect, a kind heart, and a generous and forgiving temper, she had gained the affections of the people, and the confidence of the nobility, by the wisdom, liberality, and prudence with which she conducted the affairs of the country during the first years of her regency. These were eminently popular and successful; nor did the tide turn against her till, surrounded by the perils and difficulties of the Reformation, she was compelled to adopt the violent principles of the house of Guise, and to forsake the system of conciliation which she at first adopted. It is sad to find that intolerance and persecution pursued her even after death. "Question," says Calderwood, "being moved afterwards about her burial, the preachers boldly gainststood to the use of any superstitious rites in that realm which God of his mercy had begun to purge. Her burial was deferred till further advisement: her corpse was lapped in a coffin of lead, and kept in the castle from the 10th of June till the 19th of October, at which time it was carried by some pioneers to a ship,"¹ and transported to France.

¹ British Museum, MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 421.

CHAP. III.

M A R Y.

1560, 1561.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Portugal.</i>	<i>Pope.</i>
Elizabeth.	Charles IX.	Ferdinand I.	Philip II.	Sebastian.	Pius IV.

PREVIOUS to the death of the queen-regent all parties had become averse to the continuance of the war. From the first, Elizabeth had expressed to her ministers her earnest wish to remain at peace, if it could be accomplished with security and honour; and although she at length consented to send an army into Scotland, during its march, and even after the opening of hostilities, her negotiations for an amicable settlement with France were earnest and uninterrupted: nor were the ministers of that kingdom less anxious to bring matters to an adjustment. They were convinced that the sagacity and penetration of Cecil and Throckmorton had fully detected their ambitious designs upon England; they agreed, that the vast and impracticable project of the house of Guise for the destruction of the reformed religion, and the union of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and France, under one head, must be for the present abandoned. The extraordinary expense of the Scottish war could no longer be borne; and in the present state of France itself, torn by

religious persecution, and weakened by frequent conspiracies and popular commotions, peace appeared the only remedy for the country. Nor were the Lords of the Congregation prepared to prolong the struggle : experience had shown them that, even with the assistance of England, France was a more formidable enemy than they had imagined. The fortifications of Leith were so strong, that Lethington acknowledged, in one of his letters, it might defy, if well victualled, an army of twenty thousand men.¹ It was impossible for them to keep the great body of their forces, composed of the feudal militia, for any long time under arms ; and without money, which was exceedingly scarce amongst them, their hired soldiers were ready to mutiny and sell themselves to the enemy. They were as willing therefore to negotiate as the other belligerents ; and under these circumstances, after some time spent in correspondence and preliminary arrangements, Cecil, the able minister of Elizabeth, and Sir Nicholas Wotton, repaired to Edinburgh in the middle of June. Here they met the French commissioners, the Bishops of Valence and Amiens, La Brosse, D'Osell, and the Sieur de Randan, who, being the bearer of a letter from his master the French king to Elizabeth, had, in his passage through England, been admitted to an interview with that princess.²

The treaty, which was now about to be concluded, embraced two great objects ; it was necessary to settle, first, the differences between France and England, and, secondly, to secure the interests of the Lords of the Congregation. They had taken up arms against their

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Norfolk, 9th April, 1560.

² Forbes, vol. i. p. 432. MS. letter, State-paper Office, Cecil to Elizabeth, Edinburgh, 19th June, 1560.

natural sovereign for the expulsion of the French troops from their country, and to restore, as they alleged, the kingdom to its ancient liberty : with this end in view they had entered into a separate treaty with Elizabeth, who had afforded them assistance both in money and by the presence of an army. It was necessary therefore to protect them from the probable vengeance of their own sovereign ; and this could only be done by including, in the agreement between England and France, a recognition of the treaty between Elizabeth and the reformed lords. The complaint that the arms and title of the monarchs of England had been unjustly assumed by the King and Queen of France, was easily adjusted. The French commissioners, with little difficulty, agreed to renounce it, and even to consider the claim of compensation made by Elizabeth for the injury which she had sustained. But serious debates arose upon the second point. The negotiations here included that large portion of the nobles and commons of Scotland, which had embraced the Reformation. They had taken arms in the beginning of the war to protect themselves from persecution, and to secure liberty of conscience : as it proceeded they had boldly announced their determination to overthrow the established religion ; they had carried this resolution into effect by an attack upon the religious houses, whose revenues had been seized ; they had placed their lands in the hands of agents or factors, and the ecclesiastical proprietors had been reduced to poverty. Nor was this all : this same party had suspended the queen-regent from the exercise of her authority, and had assumed the supreme power, not only without any commission from their sovereign, but contrary to her express injunctions. It was not without reason, therefore, that they were

regarded in France as guilty of rebellion ; and with justice it was pleaded by the French commissioners, that the treaty of Berwick, between the Queen of England and the Lords of the Congregation, could never be recognized as binding by their sovereign, without compromising her dignity in the most serious manner.

But if the French lords were thus anxious to dissolve this obnoxious league, Cecil, who saw its advantages, was as resolute that it should be maintained. He declared it to be the fixed intention of his mistress that the treaty of Berwick should be not only recognized but confirmed. The commissioners of Mary and Francis remonstrated. "They had received no authority," they said, "on this point ; it was even part of their instructions, that any allusion to it should be carefully avoided." The superior diplomatic craft of Cecil was successfully exerted to meet the difficulty. He affected to be indignant and inflexible. "All conference," he said, "must be broken off. The Duke of Norfolk should receive orders to advance with his army into Scotland, and the matter must once more be committed to the arbitrement of the sword." Nay, so vigorously did he exert himself, that, on some question raised by the French regarding Elizabeth's right to the kingdoms of England and Ireland, the minister threw his defiance in the teeth of the French commissioners, and offered in that quarrel to spend his blood upon any of them that would deny it.¹ How this bravado was received does not appear ; but in the end the dexterity of Cecil was triumphant. By his directions, an article was framed which flattered the vanity of the French, and preserved the

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Cecil and Wotton to Elizabeth, 2d July, 1560.

dignity of their sovereign, whilst it secured the real interests of the Congregation, without including any formal declaration that the concessions made to them by France proceeded from the alliance they had made with England. The sentence of the letter in which the minister communicates this result to his royal mistress is characteristic. “ To make a cover for all this, those ambassadors were forced by us to take a few good words in a preface to the same article, and we, content with the kernel, yielded to them the shell to play withal.”¹

The treaty now concluded was in every way advantageous to the English queen. The claims of France, and the pretensions of this power, had been a source of great annoyance to her from the commencement of her reign : they were now finally renounced. It was agreed that the French army should leave Scotland ; all anxiety regarding an attack upon her kingdom through this country was removed ; and her influence over the Lords of the Congregation was confirmed by the gratitude they felt for the assistance she had given them, as well as by the anxiety she had manifested in the negotiations to protect their interests and interpose her power between them and their offended sovereign. In a letter to his mistress, Cecil justly observes, “ that the treaty would be no small augmentation to her honour in this beginning of her reign ; that it would finally procure that conquest of Scotland which none of her progenitors with all their battles ever obtained ; namely, the whole hearts and good wills of the nobility and people, which surely was better for England than the revenue of the crown.”²

¹ Haynes, State Papers, vol. i. pp. 352, 353.

² Original draft, State-paper Office, Cecil and Wotton to the Queen, 8th July, 1560. Also, British Museum, Titus, book ii. fol. 451.

That portion of the treaty which embraced the affairs of the Congregation is particularly worthy of notice, as it led to the full establishment of the Reformation, and is intimately connected with the subsequent course of events. It provided, that an act of oblivion should be passed for all wrongs or injuries committed, from the 6th of March, 1558, to the 1st of August 1560; and that a general peace and reconciliation of all differences should take place amongst the nobility and subjects of the land, including the members of the Congregation and those who still adhered to the ancient faith. The Duke of Chastelherault, and other Scottish nobles or barons who possessed lands in France, were to be restored to their possessions; redress was to be given by parliament to the bishops and other churchmen who had received injury, and no man was to molest them in the collection of their revenues. For the better government of the realm, a council of twelve was to be constituted, of which the queen was to appoint seven, and the estates five. It was to be their duty to take cognizance of every thing during the absence of their sovereign the Queen of France. No fewer than six were to assemble on any occasion; and the whole, or at least a majority, were to meet upon all matters of moment. Peace and war were never to be declared without the concurrence of the estates. It was anxiously provided, that in all time coming the realm should be governed by its native subjects; no foreign troops were to be brought within the kingdom; no strangers to administer justice; none but Scotsmen to be placed in the high offices of chancellor, treasurer, or comptroller; and all ecclesiastics, although Scotsmen, were excluded from these two last dignities. The nobility were

MS. letter, Lord Clinton to the Earl of Sussex.—“This peace is greatly to the queen’s honour and of these realms.”

interdicted from assembling soldiers or making any warlike convocations, except in such cases as were sanctioned by established usage; and it was determined that the army of England should return home immediately after the embarkation of the French troops.¹ It was lastly agreed, that a parliament should be held in the succeeding month of August, for which a commission was to be sent by the King and Queen of France; and it was added, that this meeting of the estates should in all respects be as lawful as if the same had been convoked by command of those royal persons, provided only that all who ought to be present, resorted without fear to the parliament, and that its proceedings were free and unfettered.²

The conclusion of this treaty by the French commissioners, La Rochefoucault lord of Randan and the Bishop of Valence, was a great triumph to Elizabeth and the Congregation. The French cabinet had instructed their commissioners to beware of alluding, in the most distant manner, to the treaty of Berwick, which had been entered into between the reformers and England; and if they could not procure the consent of the queen to the dissolution of this league, to be on their guard, at least, that no clause should be introduced which should have the effect of including the leaders of the Protestants within the protection of the treaty. Baffled, however, in their diplomacy by the superior tactics of Cecil, (whose cold, equable temper seems to have been seized with a fit of unusual exultation in alluding to the result,) Randan and Monluc, contrary to their instructions, agreed to the insertion

¹ Spottiswood, p. 147. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 928. MS. letter, State-paper Office, 28th June, 1560, Cecil to ——. Also, British Museum, MS. Calderwood, vol. i. pp. 422, 427.

² Forbes, vol. i. p. 432, State-paper Office, MS. letter, Cecil to Elizabeth. Edinburgh, 19th June, 1560.

of a sentence which virtually protected the reformers, and preserved their treaty with Elizabeth. Nay, so wary had been the conduct of Wotton and Cecil, that, to use their own words, “even if the said treaty shall not remain in force, the special points tending to keep Frenchmen out of Scotland be well and assuredly provided for.”¹ The reformed lords were not tardy to acknowledge the great obligations conferred upon them by the issue to which Elizabeth had brought the negotiations. They addressed a letter to the queen, containing the warmest expressions of gratitude, and acknowledged that, in providing for the security and liberty of Scotland, the realm was more bounden to her majesty than to their own sovereign.² Nor was this excess of gratitude at all unnatural. By the various provisions above detailed, it is evident that the Protestants had amply secured their own interests. One only objection existed to this part of the treaty, but it was a fatal one: the commissioners of Mary and Francis had no authority from their sovereign to enter into any negotiation with the Congregation, and the Queen of Scotland refused to be bound by an agreement to which she was no party.

It is remarkable that the treaty included no express provision on the subject of the reformed religion, whilst the bishops and ministers of the ancient faith were treated with uncommon lenity; their property restored, their persons protected, their right of sitting in parliament acknowledged. The cause of all this is not difficult to discover: the assistance given by Elizabeth had no reference to religion; she had agreed to support the Protestants with her army, on the sole ground

¹ Haynes, vol. i. p. 352.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, 17th July, 1560. Haynes, vol. i. pp. 349, 351.

that they had taken arms to preserve the liberty of their country, and to expel the French, who, through Scotland, threatened her own dominions, and questioned her title to the throne. Individually, the queen was not disposed to favour the religious views of the Congregation, whose ultra-Protestantism she regarded with aversion. Cecil, therefore, was instructed not to meddle with the subject; and the point was left open to be afterwards settled between the reformers and their own sovereign. Yet, in gaining the power to assemble a parliament, for which their queen was to send over a commission, and whose proceedings were to be esteemed as valid as if called by her own writ, they obtained their utmost wishes. The great body of the people, the cities, burghs, and middle classes, were, they knew, favourable to the Reformation; and they reckoned with confidence on a majority amongst the nobles, many of whom had already tasted the sweets of ecclesiastical plunder, and were little disposed to give up what they had won. For these reasons, although certain articles concerning religion were presented to the commissioners on the part of the nobles and people of Scotland, their refusal to enter into discussion upon them does not appear to have occasioned either fear or disappointment. They looked to the convention of estates, which was so soon to meet, and felt confident that all would be there settled to their satisfaction.¹

The treaty having been concluded and signed by the commissioners, peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 8th July, 1560. Soon after, the French army, consisting of four thousand men, were embarked in English ships for France; the English forces at the

¹ Keith, p. 142, article 17.

same time began their march homeward; and on reaching Eyemouth demolished the fortifications, according to the agreement.¹ A solemn public thanksgiving was held by the reformed nobles and the greatest part of the Congregation in St Giles's church, where the preacher, who was probably Knox, in a prayer preserved in his History, described the miseries of their country, lately groaning under the oppression of a foreign yoke and a worship which he pronounced abominable and idolatrous. He acknowledged the mercy of God, in sending, through the instrumentality of England, a deliverance which their own policy or strength could never have accomplished; called upon them all to maintain that godly league entered into with Elizabeth, and implored God to confound the counsels of those who endeavoured to dissolve it.² Ministers were then appointed to some of the chief towns in the kingdom, Knox being directed to continue his charge at Edinburgh, whilst Goodman was sent to St Andrews, Heriot to Aberdeen, Row to Perth, and others to Jedburgh, Dundee, Dunfermline, and Leith. Superintendents were next chosen for the districts of Lothian, Glasgow, Fife, Angus and Mearns, and lastly for Argyle and the Isles.³

On the 10th of July the parliament assembled, to adjourn, as had been determined, to the 1st of August, on which day the proceedings were opened with great solemnity. So grave and important a meeting of this great council of the nation had not taken place for many years; and the attendance of all ranks was, we know from Lethington, more numerous than had ever been

¹ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. xv. pp. 493, 601.

² Knox, pp. 251, 252. British Museum, MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 428.

³ Keith, p. 145.

seen in his time.¹ One cause of this crowded attendance was a proceeding adopted by the lesser barons. Many of these persons, notwithstanding their right to sit and vote in the assembly of the three estates, had ceased to claim their privilege. Indifference to public affairs, occupation upon their own demesnes, and the expense of a journey to the capital, had occasioned their absence. But it was amongst these persons that the reformed doctrines had made the greatest progress; and aware that the subjects to be debated must involve the great religious principles in dispute between the Congregation and the Catholics, they attended in their places, and presented a petition, in which they prayed to be restored to their privilege, and to be allowed to give their counsel and vote in parliament. After some trifling opposition, they were permitted to take their seats, although a final decision on their claims does not appear to have been given. The accession, however, of so many votes (their number being a hundred) was of no small consequence to the Protestants, who were anxious that they should immediately proceed to the business of the parliament. On this, however, there arose a serious difference of opinion. It was pleaded by many, that no parliament could be held till the commission arrived from their sovereign, or, at least, till some reply was received to the message which had been sent to France, informing her of their proceedings.² Others alleged, that by one

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, 15th Aug. 1560.

² It does not appear who were despatched on this mission to inform their sovereign. As late as the 9th of August, 1560, the French king expressed to Throckmorton, the English ambassador, his surprise that he had heard nothing from his commissioners, and affirmed that he had not yet seen the treaty of Edinburgh. The Bishop of Glasgow and the Lord Seton had arrived at Paris on the 3d of August.—MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Sir N. Throckmorton, 9th August, 1560.

of the articles of the peace, it had been determined that a meeting of the three estates should be held in August, which should be as lawful as if it were summoned by express command of their queen ; and the question having been put to the vote, it was decided that the parliament should continue its sittings.¹ A week, however, was spent in the debate. Many, on learning the result, departed from the capital, and of the spiritual estate very few attended.

These preliminary questions having been settled, the crown, the mace, and the sword, were laid upon the seat or throne, usually occupied by the queen ;² and Maitland, who possessed great influence with the Congregation, being chosen Speaker, (the term then used was “ harangue maker,”) opened the proceedings in an oration, of which Randolph has given us the principal heads. He excused his insufficiency to occupy that place ; made a brief discourse of things past ; showed what necessity men were forced into for defence of their country ; what remedy and support it had pleased God to send them ; and how much they were bound heartily to acknowledge and requite it. He took away the persuasion which had then entered into many men’s minds, that other things were intended than those which had been attempted ; he advised all estates to renounce their individual feelings, and to bend themselves wholly to the true service of God and their country, describing the miserable condition to which it had been long reduced for lack of good government and exercise of justice. He exhorted them to mutual amity and hearty friendship—one to live with another as members all of one body, using

¹ Spottiswood, p. 149.

² Keith, p. 149, erroneously states that the royal ensigns of the kingdom were omitted to be carried into the parliament.

the example of the fable, “when the mouth, having quarrelled with the members, refused to receive sustenance for so long a time that the whole body perished.” In conclusion, he prayed God long to maintain amity and peace with all princes, and especially betwixt the realms of England and Scotland, in the love and fear of God.¹ The clerk-register now rose, and having inquired of the three estates, to what matter they would proceed; it was judged proper that the articles of the peace should be read over, which having been done, they received the unanimous approbation of the assembly, and were directed to be sent over to France for the ratification of their sovereign. The Lords of the Articles were next chosen, the order of which, says Randolph, “is, that the lords spiritual choose the temporal, and the temporal the spiritual—the burgesses their own.”² Great complaint was here made by the prelates, that in the selection of the lords spiritual, none were chosen but such as were known to be well affected to the new religion, nor was it unnoticed that some upon whom the choice had fallen, were mere laymen. So great was the majority, however, of the friends of the Congregation, that it was impossible to have redress. “This being done,” says Randolph, in an interesting letter to Cecil, where he describes the proceedings of the parliament, “the lords departed, and accompanied the duke³ as far as the Bow, which is the gate going out of the High Street, and many down unto the palace where he lieth; the town all in armour, the trumpets sounding, and all other kinds of music, such as they have. Other solemnities have not been used, saving in times long

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 9th and 10th August, 1560.

² Ibid.

³ The Duke of Chastelherault.

past the lords have had parliament robes, which are now with them wholly out of use. The Lords of the Articles sat from henceforth in Holyrood House, except that at such times as, upon any matter of importance, the whole lords assembled themselves again, as they did this day, in the parliament house.”¹

Having proceeded thus far, a petition was presented to the parliament by some of the most zealous of the reformers. It prayed, that the doctrines professed by the Roman Catholic church, and tyrannically maintained by the clergy, should be condemned and abolished; and amongst the errors, it particularly enumerated transubstantiation, the adoration of Christ’s body under the form of bread, the merit of good works, purgatory, pilgrimages, and prayers to departed saints. It declared, that God of his great mercy, by the light of his Word, had demonstrated to no small number within the realm, the pestiferous errors of the Roman church; errors which the ministers of that church had maintained by fire and sword, and which brought damnation upon the souls that embraced them. It stated, in strong and coarse language, that the sacraments of our Lord were shamefully abused by that Roman harlot by whom the true discipline of the church was extinguished; and proceeded to give an appalling picture of the corrupt lives of those who called themselves the clergy. Embracing the whole papal church in one sweeping anathema, the petitioners offered to prove, that “in all the rabble of the clergy,” there was not one lawful minister, if the Word of God, and the practices of the apostles and primitive church, were to be taken as authority upon this point; it denominated them thieves and murderers, rebels, traitors, and

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 9th and 10th August, 1560.

adulterers; living in all manner of abominations, and unworthy to be suffered in any reformed commonwealth. Lastly, using that blessed name, which ought to be the bond of love and charity, as an incitement to railing and persecution, it called upon the parliament, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to employ the victory which they had obtained with wholesome vigour; to compel the body of the Romish clergy to answer these accusations now brought against them; to pronounce them unworthy of authority in the church of God, and expel them for ever from having a voice or vote in the great council of the nation; which, it continued, “if ye do not, we forewarn you, in the fear of God, and by assurance of his word, that as ye leave a grievous yoke and a burden intolerable upon the church of God within this realm, so shall they be thorns in your eyes, and pricks in your sides, whom afterwards, when ye would, ye shall have no power to remove.” In conclusion, it virtually declared that this extraordinary petition was not theirs, but God’s, who craved this by his servants; and it prayed Him to give them an upright heart and a right understanding of the request made through them.¹

The names of those who signed this violent production, which it is difficult to read without emotions of sorrow and pity, do not appear. Knox, whose fiery zeal flamed high at this period, seized the sitting of the parliament as a proper season for a course of sermons on the prophecies of Haggai, in which he tells us, he was peculiarly “special and vehement,” the doctrine being proper to the times.² Many of the nobles, however, who had prospered upon the plunder of the church, demurred to the sentiments of the preacher,

¹ British Museum, MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 430. Knox, p. 252.

² Knox, p. 254.

when he exhorted them to restore their lands for the support of the ministers; and Lethington exclaimed in mockery, "We must now forget ourselves, and bear the barrow to build the house of God."¹ Yet, although some were thus foolish, others of the barons and burgesses assembled, and we are informed by Knox that the petition emanated from them. There can be no doubt that it received the sanction, if it was not the composition, of the Reformer.

On being read in parliament, this petition occasioned a great diversity of sentiment; to the sincere Catholic it justly appeared an impious denunciation of all that he esteemed sacred, and even the more moderate of those who had embraced the tenets of the Reformation might well doubt whether it was not calculated to inflame rather than to heal the wounds it proposed to cure; still there can be little doubt, that as the majority in the parliament supported the changes proposed, it would have been favourably received but for one circumstance, which touched some of the highest and most influential of the Protestant leaders. It called upon them to restore the patrimony of the church, of which they had unjustly possessed themselves, to the uses for which it was originally destined,—the support of the ministers, the restoration of godly learning, and the assistance of the poor. This, according to Knox, was unpalatable doctrine to the nobles, who for worldly respects abhorred a perfect reformation.² Waving, therefore, the practical part of the question, and retaining for the present the wealth they had won, the majority of the parliament commanded the ministers to draw up a confession of their faith, or a brief summary of those doctrines which they conceived wholesome,

¹ Knox, p. 254. The name is not given in the printed Knox.

² Knox, p. 252.

true, and necessary to be believed,¹ and received within the realm. This solemn and arduous task was achieved apparently with extraordinary rapidity ; but although only four days were employed in its preparation, it is evident that the Confession of Faith embodied the results of much previous study and consultation. It is a clear summary of Christian doctrine, grounded on the Word of God. On most essential points, it approximates indefinitely near, and in many instances uses the very words of the Apostles' Creed, and the Articles of the Church of England, as established by Edward the Sixth. Thus, in the section on Baptism, the Scottish Confession of Faith declares, “ We assuredly believe, that by Baptism *we are ingrafted into Jesus Christ*, to be made partakers of his *justice*, by the which our sins are covered and remitted.” Compare this with the article of Edward the Sixth and of Elizabeth, “ Of Baptism.” It is there said to be a sign, not only of profession, but of regeneration, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly, “ *are grafted into the Church*.” Again, of the Lord’s Supper, the Scottish Confession of Faith declares, “ We most assuredly believe, that the bread that we break is the communion of Christ’s body, and the cup which we bless is the communion of his blood ; so that we do confess and believe that the faithful in the right use of the Lord’s table, so do eat the body, and drink the blood of the Lord Jesus, that he remaineth in them and they in him.” In the Articles of Edward the Sixth, the same precise words are used. Indeed, it is worthy of remark, that in these holy mysteries of our faith, this Confession, drawn up by the primitive Scottish reformers, keeps

¹ Spottiswood, p. 150.

in some points at a greater distance from the rationalizing of ultra-Protestantism than the Articles of Edward. But to return. Before the authors of the Confession agreed finally on every point it should embrace, the treatise was submitted to the revisal of the Secretary Lethington, and the sub-Prior of St Andrews, who mitigated the austerity of many words and sentences, and expunged a chapter on the limits of the obedience due by subjects to their magistrates, which they considered improper to be then discussed. So, at least, says Randolph; but it is certain that a chapter "Of the Civil Magistrate," forms a portion of the Confession of Faith as it is printed by Knox,¹ and that it not only prescribes in strong terms the obedience due by subjects to princes, governors and magistrates, as powers ordained by God, but pronounces all who attempt to abolish the "Holy State of Civil Policies," as enemies alike to God and man.

When thus finished, this important paper was laid before parliament; but all disputation upon its doctrines appears to have been waved by a mutual understanding, that on the one side it was unnecessary, and on the other it would be unavailing. The Roman Catholics knew that against them was arrayed a violent and overwhelming majority; so keen were the feelings of some of their leaders, that the Duke of Chastelherault had threatened his brother, the Archbishop of St Andrews, with death, if he dared to exert himself against it;² nor is it by any means improbable, that similar arguments had been used with other dignitaries. Of the temporal peers present, the Earls of Cassillis and Caithness alone dissented; of the

¹ Knox's Hist. p. 270. MS. letter, State-paper Office, 7th September, 1560, Randolph to Cecil.

² Keith, pp. 150, 487.

spiritual, the primate, with the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane. Time, they said, had not been given them to examine the book: they were ready to give their consent to all things which were sanctioned by the Word of God, and to abolish the abuses which had crept into the Church; but they requested some delay, that the debate upon a question which branched into so many intricate, profound, and important subjects, might be carried on with due study and deliberation.¹ To these sensible and moderate representations no attention appears to have been paid. The treatise was laid upon the table, the bishops were called upon to oppugn it upon the instant, and, having declined the contest, the consent of the parliament was given almost by acclamation: some of the lords, in the enthusiasm of the moment, declared they would sooner end their lives than think contrary to these doctrines: many offered to shed their blood in the cause. The Earl Marshal, with indignant sarcasm, called upon the bishops, as the pillars of the papal church, to defend the tenets of their master; and the venerable Lord Lindsay, rising up in his place, and alluding to his extreme age, declared that since God had spared him to see that day, and the accomplishment of so worthy a work, he was ready with Simon to say, “*Nunc dimittis.*”²

This Confession having been sanctioned by parliament as the standard of the Protestant faith in Scotland, it was thought proper to complete the work by

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, 18th August, 1560, Lethington to Cecil. In the letter of Randolph to Cecil quoted below, (note ²), he says, “Of the temporal lords, the Earl of Cassillis, and the Earl of Caithness, said ‘Nae;’ the rest of the lords with common consent allowed the same.” Yet Knox and Spottiswood mention Athole, Borthwick, and Somerville, as dissentient.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 19th August, 1560.

passing three acts. The first abolished for ever in that country the power and jurisdiction of the pope ; the second repealed all former statutes passed in favour of the Roman Catholic church ; the third ordained that all who said mass, or who dared to hear mass, should, for the first transgression, be punished with confiscation of goods ; for the second, incur the penalty of banishment from the kingdom ; and if guilty of a third offence, be put to death. Few blessings have been of slower growth in Europe than religious toleration. The same men who had groaned so lately under persecution, who upbraided their brethren, and with perfect justice, for the tyranny of maintaining their errors by fire and sword, now injured the cause they advocated by similar severities, and compelled the reception of what they pronounced the truth, under the penalty of death.

In these transactions Randolph, who was now resident in Edinburgh, in the character of Elizabeth's envoy at the Scottish court, took a prominent part. The spirit in which he carried on his intrigues will be understood from a passage in one of his letters, relating to a subject about to be brought before the parliament —the signing the contract made between Elizabeth and the Congregation at Berwick. “The Bishop of Dunblane,” says he, “is also now come ; it is not to reason upon religion, but to do, as I hear, whatsoever the Earl of Argyle will command him. If God have prepared him and his metropolitan to die obstinate Papists, yet I would wish that before they go to the devil, they would show some token that once in their lives they loved their country, and set their hands to the contract, as hardly I believe they will.”¹ These

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to ——, (Cecil, I think,) but the name does not appear. 15th August, 1560.

uncharitable and intolerant feelings, however, were not cherished against the Roman prelates alone. It was the opinion of many of the leaders of the Reformation now in progress in Scotland, that the hierarchy of England, as established under Elizabeth, was nearly as corrupt as Rome itself. In a letter addressed by Goodman, originally a minister of the English church, but now one of the most active preachers of the Congregation, to Cecil, he exhorted that powerful statesman to "abolish all the relics of superstition and idolatry which, to the grief and scandal of the godly, were still retained in England, and (alluding probably to Bonner and Gardiner) not to suffer the bloody bishops and known murderers of God's people and your dear brethren, to live, upon whom God hath expressly pronounced the sentence of death, for the execution of which he hath committed the sword into your hands, who are now placed in authority. It was this delay," he declared, "this leniency in Cecil, (who was happily not animated by the same fiery spirit of persecution which guided the proceedings of Goodman,) that sticketh most in the hearts of many."¹

The "Confession of Faith" having been passed in parliament, the clergy next proceeded to compose a "Book of Discipline," for the future government of the church. Into the contents of this celebrated form of church polity, it is of course impossible to enter at any length; but it is important to remark, that it committed the election of ministers to the people, using the precaution that the person so chosen, before he was admitted to the holy office, should be examined by the ministers and elders openly upon all points then in controversy between the church of

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Goodman to Cecil, 26th October, 1559.

Rome and the Congregation, and generally upon the whole extent of sound Christian doctrine. Such having been done, the person elected and approved of was to be considered an ordained minister, and to be publicly introduced by his brethren to his congregation in the church to which he was appointed, it being expressly declared, "that any other ceremonies than the approbation of the people, and the declaration of the chief minister, that the person presented is appointed to serve," are not approved of by the Congregation; for albeit, they add, the Apostles used the imposition of hands, yet, seeing the miracle is ceased, the using the ceremony we judge not to be necessary. The same form appointed "readers" to such churches as, owing to the rarity of learned and godly men, could not immediately be provided with ministers. It was their office simply to read the Common Prayers and the Scriptures, not to administer the sacraments. Lastly, the country was divided into ten dioceses, and over them were appointed ten ministers, who were named superintendents. These were not to be "suffered to live idle, as the bishops had done heretofore," neither were they to be stationary, but to be ambulatory preachers, continuing about three or four months in one place, after which they were to enter into a visitation of their whole bounds, preaching thrice a-week at the least, and not intermitting their labours until the churches were wholly planted. They were directed to inquire into the life and behaviour of the ministers, the manners of the people, the provision for the poor, and the instruction of the youth; and under this last head may be noticed, as first appearing in this "Book of Discipline," that wise and admirable institution of parish schools, to which Scotland has owed so much of her prosperity. "It was necessary," such are nearly

the words of the Congregation, “that care should be had of the virtuous and godly education of the youth, wherefore it was judged in every parish to have a proper schoolmaster, able to teach at least the grammar and Latin tongue, where the town was of any reputation.” But it adds, “in landwart, (that is, country parishes,) where the people convened to doctrine only once in the week, there must either the reader or the minister take care of the youth of the parish, to instruct them in their rudiments, and especially in the Catechism of Geneva.”¹

This Book of Discipline was almost as bitterly opposed as the Confession had been warmly and unanimously supported. Some of the nobles and barons positively refused to subscribe it; others signed it, but eluded its injunctions; others, who dreaded the punishment of their vices or the curtailing of their revenues, mocked at its provisions, and pronounced them devout imaginations. “The cause,” says Knox, “we have before declared: Some were licentious, some had greedily gripped² the possessions of the church, and others thought that they would not lack their part of Christ’s coat. * * The chief great man,” he continues, “that professed Christ and refused to subscribe the Book of Discipline, was the Lord Erskine. And no wonder; for besides that he had a very evil woman to his wife, if the poor, the schools, and the ministry of the church had their own, his kitchen would lack two parts and more of that which he now unjustly possesseth. Assuredly some of us have wondered how men that profess godliness could of so long continuance hear the threatenings of God against thieves and against their houses, and knowing

¹ Spottiswood, pp. 154-160, inclusive.

² Seized.

themselves guilty in such things as were openly rebuked, that they never had remorse of conscience, neither yet intended to restore any thing of that which long they had stolen and reft. There were none within the realm more unmerciful to the poor ministers than those which had the greatest rents of the churches."¹

But if severe to the Presbyterian clergy, the parliament was still more decisive against the Catholic prelates. Of these, many who had considered the meeting illegal absented themselves; others took their seats, and having protested against the injustice of excluding them from being chosen Lords of the Articles, declined all interference with the proceedings. A bill of complaint was then presented by the barons against them, "containing," says Randolph, "rather a general accusation of all living bishops, than any special crime that they were burdened with." To this apparently no answer was returned: the Bishops of Dunblane, St Andrews, and Dunkeld, were specially called upon to pursue their complaint; and, as they neglected to appear, a decree was passed for the "stay of their livings."² But this was not all. The Catholic prelates, in their anxiety to preserve their estates from the grasp of the barons of the Congregation, had adopted the expedient of granting conveyances, or leases of their lands, to those who agreed to pay them the rents, and to reconvey them to their original proprietors in more prosperous times. Against these alleged alienations of the estates of the church, which had been sanctioned by the pope, the parliament directed its censure, ordaining that all such leases should be void without further process of law.³

¹ Knox, p. 276.

² Original letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 27th August, 1560. Keith, p. 151.

³ Keith, pp. 151, 152.

One of the last subjects which occupied the attention of the parliament, was the selection of the twenty-four members, out of which number the Council of Twelve was to be chosen. It was scarcely to be expected that the choice should be impartial. Yet, although care was taken to include all the principal leaders of the Congregation, it embraced some of the opposite party. It consisted of the duke, the Earl of Arran, the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, Athole, Menteith, Marshal, and Rothes. The Lords James, Erskine, Ruthven, Lindsay, Boyd, Ogilvy, St John, and the Master of Maxwell; the Lairds of Lundy, Pitarrow, Dun, Cunninghamhead, Drumlanrig, and young Lethington;¹ and it was appointed that, until the commission from the king and queen's majesty had been sent from France, and the part which they had chosen was openly declared, six of the former council should sit continually in Edinburgh, for the administration of justice. If, however, any measure of importance, involving the general interests of the kingdom, was brought before them, no fewer than sixteen of the above number were bound to attend. The treaty of Berwick, which had been entered into between Elizabeth and the Lords of the Congregation, was next confirmed;² and it was proposed that, as the surest basis of a perpetual amity between the two realms, an overture for a marriage between the Earl of Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Chastelherault, heir-apparent to the throne, and Queen Elizabeth, should be sent to

¹ Keith, from a work entitled "Memoirs of Scotland," vol. i. fol. 168, preserved in the Scottish College at Paris, now unfortunately lost amongst the MSS. of that ancient house.

² The Lord James, for himself and the contractors, protested that they might have an instrument that this their act was allowed to be good, lawful, and not prejudicial to the crown of Scotland. MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 27th August, 1560.

England. It was earnestly recommended by Lethington, that, until they understood in what manner Cecil was affected towards this measure, no hasty proceedings should take place ; but although much disunion existed on other subjects, a singular unanimity appears to have here pervaded the assembly ; and it was resolved, “that suit should be made to the Queen of England, in the best manner, that it may please her majesty, for the establishing of a perpetual friendship, to join in marriage with the Earl of Arran.”¹ It was, last of all, determined that Sir James Sandilands of Calder, grand prior of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem within Scotland, should carry an account of their proceedings to France ; whilst Lethington, with the Earls of Morton and Glencairn, should be sent on the same errand to Elizabeth. Having brought these important matters to a conclusion, the parliament was dissolved on the 27th of August.²

On his arrival at the French court, Sir James Sandilands³ was received with the utmost coldness. Nor could the Congregation have expected it to be otherwise. He brought intelligence to the Queen of Scotland that, without waiting for her ratification of the treaty concluded by her commissioners, or giving her time to send her commission for the calling a parliament, the three estates had assembled of their own authority, and by a series of acts more sweeping than any that had ever passed in the preceding history of the country, had

¹ Original MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, 18th August, 1560. Also, Acts of parliament, vol. ii. p. 605.

² Keith is at a loss to know how long they sat after the 24th. The point is settled by a letter of Lethington to Cecil, MS. State-paper Office, original, 27th August, 1560.—“Although our Parliament be not ended, it is for the present on good respects dissolved.”

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 7th September, 1560. “The Lord St John departeth, as it is said, the 12th of this present.”

introduced innovations which it was impossible could be regarded without alarm ; they had overturned the established religion, and let loose, against all who ventured to adhere to the belief of their fathers, the fury of religious persecution ; they had entered into a league with another kingdom ; and, as if conscious of the illegal nature of their proceedings, had attempted to protect themselves against the punishment of the laws, by giving a pretended parliamentary sanction to the most violent of their measures. The truth of these assertions could not be denied ; and when the young queen, and her advisers the Guises, contrasted the conduct of the parliament towards Elizabeth with the manner in which they treated their sovereign, to whom they pretended all loyalty and affection, they could not fail to be mortified with the difference. So completely were English interests predominant in the assembly of the estates, that Lethington and Moray in all important measures received the advice of Elizabeth and her ministers ; and so far was this carried, that Cecil drew up and transmitted to them the scroll of the act which was to be passed in their assembly.¹ In an interview which took place soon after Sandilands' arrival, between Throckmorton the English ambassador and the Cardinal Lorraine, the feelings of this proud minister upon the subject were strongly intimated : “ I will tell you frankly,” said the cardinal, “ the Scots, the king's subjects, do perform no part of their duties ; the king and the queen have the name of their sovereigns, and your mistress hath the effect and the obedience. They would bring the realm to a republic, and say, in their words,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, 29th August, 1560, Lethington to Cecil. It appears by this letter that Cecil had framed the draft of an act for the Scottish parliament, confirming the treaty of Berwick, but it came too late. Their own act, however, was the same in substance, and almost in words.

they are the king's subjects; to tell you of the particular disorders, were too long: every man doth what he lists. All this is too far out of order; and when fault is found with them, they threaten the king with the aid of the queen your mistress. Let your mistress either make them obedient subjects, or let her rid her hands of them; for rather than they shall be at this point, the king will quit all. They have made a league with the queen your mistress without us: what manner of dealing is this of subjects? Thereupon it is they bear themselves so proudly.* * They have sent hither a mean man, in post to the king and queen their sovereigns, and to the queen your mistress a great and solemn legation.* * This great legation, quoth he, goeth for the marriage of the queen your mistress with the Earl of Arran. What shall she have with him? I think her heart too great to marry with such a one as he is; and one of the queen's subjects."¹

Immediately after this, the English ambassador was admitted to an audience of the young Queen of France. It is interesting to observe Mary's first appearance: Throckmorton entreated her to ratify the treaty, and complained that this had been too long deferred.— “Such answer,” said the young queen, “as the king, my lord and husband, and his council, hath made you in that matter, might suffice; but, because you shall know I have reason to do as I do, I will tell you what moveth me to refuse to ratify the treaty: my subjects in Scotland do their duty in nothing, nor have they performed one point that belongeth unto them. I am their queen, and so they call me; but they use me not so. They have done what pleaseth them; and though I have not many faithful subjects there, yet those few

¹ MS. letter, French Correspondence, State-paper Office, Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 17th November, 1560.

that be there on my party, were not present when these matters were done, nor at this assembly. I will have them assemble by my authority, and proceed in their doings after the laws of the realm, which they so much boast of and keep none of them. They have sent hither a poor gentleman to me, whom I disdain to have come in the name of them all to the king and me in such a legation. They have sent great personages to your mistress: I am their sovereign, but they take me not so. They must be taught to know their duties." "In this speech," continues Throckmorton, "the queen uttered some choler and stomach against them. I said, as to the Lord of St John, I know him not; but he is Great Prior of Scotland, and you know by others what rank that estate hath, equal to any earl within your realm. The queen answered, I do not take him for Great Prior, for he is married: I marvel how it happeneth they could send other manner of men to your mistress.—I said, madam, I have heard, that if your majesty do proceed graciously with the Lord St John, in observation of all that which was by the Bishop of Valence and Mons. de Randan promised in the king's and your name, the nobles and states of Scotland do mind to send unto the king and you a greater legation. Then the king and I, quoth she, must begin with them.—Madam, quoth I, I am sorry the ratification of the treaty is refused; for that matter, together with other injuries offered to the queen my mistress, (as, contrary to the express articles of the treaty, the king and you do bear openly the arms of England,) will give the queen my mistress occasion greatly to suspect your well meaning unto her. Mine uncles, quoth she, have sufficiently answered you in this matter; and for your part, I pray you, do the office of a good minister betwixt us, and so shall you do

well. And so," concludes Throckmorton, "the queen dismissed me, and Mons. de Lansac brought me to my horse."¹

When it is recollectcd that the young queen was now only sixteen, it must be admitted, that in this conversation with one of the ablest ministers of Elizabeth, she acquitted herself with uncommon spirit and good sense. Nor can we blame either her or the Guises for their steady refusal to ratify the treaty. Her commissioners, Monluc and Randan, had received positive instructions from Mary to treat with England, but not to include her Scottish subjects, or recognise their league with Elizabeth; yet they suffered themselves to be overreached by the crafty diplomacy of Cecil, and not only included them, but virtually recognised their whole proceedings. Encouraged by this, the Protestants had assembled a parliament; had adjourned for so short a period that it was impossible for the ratification and commission of their sovereign to arrive; had hurried forward its proceedings; formed a council of regency, composed chiefly of those who were opposed to France; entered anew into the league with England; and lastly, had directed to that country an embassy, the object of which was to place themselves under the guidance and protection of Elizabeth. When Lord St John arrived, therefore, and in the name of the Congregation requested the queen to confirm these proceedings, we need not be surprised that he met with a positive and somewhat peremptory refusal. But although Mary complained of his inferior rank, as compared with Glencairn, Morton, and Lethington, the ambassadors to England, St John was

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, 17th November, 1560. The letter, which has never been printed, is highly interesting.

received with courtesy. He was admitted to an audience with the young queen and the Cardinal of Lorraine ; exhorted, with earnestness, to act the part of an upright minister between his sovereign and her subjects ; and dismissed with a letter addressed by the king and queen to the estates of Scotland.¹ Before his departure, however, Sandilands, alarmed at the prospects of the Congregation, had a private interview with the English ambassador, in which he entreated him to recommend “the ordering of their affairs in Scotland ” to the English queen, observing, that unless she undertook the management, he foresaw that they would inevitably fall out amongst themselves and be undone.²

The secret policy of France at this period towards Scotland was watched and detected by Throckmorton with much ability. The Guises had resolved at present to remain at peace, and wait till they discovered in what manner Elizabeth received the embassy which was to propose to her a marriage with Arran. If she

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, 17th Nov. 1560, and 28th Nov. 1560, to the Queen. I am the more careful to note the manner of his reception and dismissal—which I take from Throckmorton, who was on the spot, and in daily intercourse with him—because it has been erroneously stated, that “the Cardinal of Lorraine loaded him with reproaches, accused him of perjury, denominated his friends execrable heretics, and dismissed him without an answer.” This is the account of Dr Cook, (*History of the Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 341, 342, who was misled by Keith, whilst Keith was himself misled by Buchanan). Contrast this with the following passage from Throckmorton’s letter of 28th Nov. 1560, to Queen Elizabeth. “The Lord St John had his dépesche here the 26th of this month. He took not his leave of the king by reason of his indisposition, but of the queen and the Cardinal Lorraine. He had very good words, and was required to use the part and office of a good minister towards the estates of Scotland, and of a good subject towards his sovereigns. He hath a letter from the king and queen to the said estates, the copy whereof I send your majesty herewith.”

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 28th Nov. 1560.

declined the match, and treated the overtures of the Protestants with coldness, they determined to sow jealousies between the reformers and their patroness; to persuade the Scots, that she had acted solely from a desire to aggrandize herself, and induce them to continue the old amity with France. With this view, they proposed to detach Arran from the Congregation by high offers: he was to marry a daughter of France, to be made lieutenant for the king and queen in Scotland, to have the whole revenue of that realm for his entertainment, and to want nothing but the name of a king.¹ If, on the other hand, they found the queen disposed to follow the advice of Cecil, and entertain the league of mutual friendship and defence with Scotland, they had projected to weaken the Congregation by creating jealousies amongst its leaders, to sow dissension between Arran and the Lord James, and to bestow the whole of the benefices and offices of the kingdom in raising a party against England. To traverse these schemes, the English ambassador advised Elizabeth to employ Clark, one of the archers of the French Guard, a subtle and intriguing agent of his, who had been bred up as a spy in France; he accordingly left that country with letters of recommendation to the queen, and being sent into Scotland, pursued his treacherous vocation with great activity and success.²

Although the policy of the Guisean faction was for the moment watchful and pacific, their motive was merely to gain time: their main purpose continued the same as before—the destruction of the party of the Reformation in Europe. To put down the Huguenots

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, 10th Oct. 1560, Throckmorton to the Lords of the Council.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to the Queen, 28th November, 1560.

in France, to encourage the Romanists in England and Scotland, to sow dissensions amongst the Protestant princes of Germany, to support the council of Trent, now sitting, and, in a word, to concentrate the whole strength of France, Spain, Italy, and the Empire, against that great moral and religious revolution, by which light and truth were struggling to free themselves from the trammels of many long established errors, was the chief object to which they directed their efforts.

Under the regency of the queen-dowager, the affairs of Scotland had been intrusted principally to D'Osell, a man of talent and a good officer, but rash and overbearing. On the return, however, of Monluc bishop of Valence, with Martignes, to the French court, D'Osell, who it was generally supposed would have the chief voice in Scottish affairs, lost the royal favour, and found himself entirely passed over. The cause of his disgrace, as stated by Throckmorton in a letter to Elizabeth, presents us with an appalling picture of the dark policy of the Guises. At the commencement of the religious troubles in Scotland, the Bishop of Amiens, De la Brosse, and Martignes, advised the queen-dowager to dissemble with the Congregation, to call a parliament at Leith or Edinburgh, and having got the chief leaders under one roof, to seize and put to death the most violent.¹ The queen-regent revolted from so base a proposal, and D'Osell compelled his less scrupulous associates to abandon it. But he now reaped the consequences: the prelate arraigned him as the origin of all the ill success in Scotland, and he found himself deprived of the favour of his sovereign.²

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to the Queen, 10th October, 1560.

² Ibid. Poissy.

At this interesting crisis, when the Congregation regarded with anxiety the designs which were meditating against them, when Elizabeth hesitated upon the expediency of continuing to give them her active support, and the Guises waited only “till they had got money in their purses to follow their enterprises,”¹ an event took place which drew after it important changes. The young French king, Francis the Second, who had for some time laboured under a languishing state of health, expired at Orleans on the 6th of December.² His youthful consort, the Scottish queen, by whom he was ardently beloved, had watched over him with devoted care and affection, and for some time appeared inconsolable; but the energy of her character soon recovered its ascendancy, and recalled her to the duties she had to perform, and the difficulties by which she was surrounded. Throckmorton, an eye-witness of her behaviour, soon after the event, addressed the following letter to the council, which contains an interesting view, not only of the character of the young queen, but a sketch, by the hand of a master, of the position of parties, and the projected policy of England. “My very good lords: Now that God hath thus disposed of the late French king, whereby the Scottish queen is left a widow, in my simple judgment, one of the special things your lordships have to consider, and to have an eye to, is the marriage of that queen. During her husband’s life there was no great account made of her; for that, being under band of marriage and subjection of her husband, who carried the burden

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, 10th Oct. 1560, Throckmorton to the Council.

² I note the day, as it is differently stated by our general historians. MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, 6th Dec. 1560. Throckmorton to Elizabeth. “The 6th of this present, at 11 o’clock of the night, he departed to God.”

and care of all her matters, there was offered no great occasion to know what was in her. But since her husband's death, she hath showed, and so continueth, that she is both of great wisdom for her years, modesty, and also of great judgment, in the wise handling herself and her matters; which, increasing in her with her years, cannot but turn to her commendation, reputation, honour, and great benefit of her and her country. And already it appeareth, that some such as made no great account of her, do now, seeing her wisdom, both honour and pity her.

“ Immediately upon her husband's death she changed her lodging, withdrew herself from all company, became so solitary and exempt of all worldliness, that she doth not to this day see daylight, and thus will continue out forty days. For the space of fifteen days after the death of her said husband, she admitted no man to come unto her chamber, but the king, his brethren, the King of Navarre, the constable, and her uncles. About four or five days after that, she was content to admit some bishops, and the ancient knights of the order, and none of the younger, saving Martignes, who having done her good service, and married the chief gentlewoman of her chamber, had so much favour showed him among the rest. The ambassadors also were lastly admitted, as they came, who have been all with her to condole, saving I, which I have forborne to do, knowing not the queen's majesty's pleasure in that behalf.

“ Amongst others, the ambassador of Spain hath been with her above an hour together, which is thought to be for more than the ceremony of condoling required. He hath also since that time dined, and had great conference with the Cardinal of Lorraine; and though I cannot yet think that it be about any matter of

marriage for her with the Prince of Spain — for I think the council of Spain too wise to think upon it without other commodity — yet, it is not amiss to hearken to the matter; for she, using herself as she beginneth, will make herself to be beloved, and to lack no good means of offers. But to conclude herein: as long as the matter shall be well handled in England, and that now, in time, good occasions be not let pass, the King of Spain will have little mind that way. As for my part, I see her behaviour to be such, and her wisdom and queenly modesty so great, in that she thinketh herself not too wise, but is content to be ruled by good counsel and wise men, (which is a great virtue in a prince or princess, and which argueth a great judgment and wisdom in her,) that by these means she cannot do amiss. And I cannot but fear her proceedings with the time, if any means be left, and offered her to take advantage by.

“ I understand very credibly,” continued the ambassador, “ that the said Scottish queen is desirous to return into Scotland: marry, she would so handle the matter as that the desire should not seem nor appear to come of herself, nor of her seeking, but by the request and suit of the subjects of Scotland. To compass which device she hath sent one Robert Lesley (who pretendeth title to the earldom of Rothes) into Scotland, to work by such as are hers; and besides them, doubteth nothing to procure to her a good many of those that were lately against her; and among others, she holdeth herself sure of the Lord James, and of all the Stewards, wholly to be at her devotion. She mistrusteth none but the Duke of Chastelherault and his party; and besides these, she nothing doubteth to assure to her, with easy persuasions, the whole, or the most part, of those that carried themselves indiffe-

rently as neuters all this while, who are thought to be many besides the common people. And now to have their queen home [they] will altogether, she thinketh, lean and incline to her. Upon request, thus to be made to her by these nobles, requiring to have her return, she will demand that the principal forts and holds of the realm be delivered into her hands, or to such for her as she will appoint, to the end that she may be more assured against the evil meaning of the hollow-hearted, or such as fear the worst towards themselves. She doth also work that those that shall thus request her to come into Scotland, shall offer and promise all obedience and duty belonging to loving and obedient subjects; whom she will, for her part, recompense by all the favour, assurance, and benevolence, that a prince can promise and owe to good subjects. This matter, my lords, being worth good consideration, I leave to your lordships' grave wisdoms to consider of it.”¹

The news of the young king’s death was received by the party of the Congregation in Scotland with extraordinary exultation. The ministers not only justly considered the event as a great deliverance, but, in the intolerant spirit of the times, represented it as a special judgment inflicted upon an infidel and stubborn prince.² Throckmorton, with greater charity, called upon his royal mistress to thank God, who by these incomprehensible means had provided for her

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to the Council, 31st December, 1560.

² “When all things,” says Knox, “were in readiness to shed the blood of innocents, the Eternal, our God, who ever watcheth for the preservation of his own, began to work, and suddenly did put his own work in execution; for as the king sat at mass, he was suddenly struck with an aposthume, in that deaf ear which would never hear the truth of God * * * when his glory perished, and the pride of his stubborn heart evanished in smoke.”—Knox, p. 280.

surety and quietness.¹ Lethington, with the quick prospective glance of a statesman, pronounced that the king's death must have the effect of changing materially the line of their policy;² whilst the leaders of the opposite parties, which had so long separated the state, transmitted assurances of fidelity, and offers of service, to their youthful sovereign.

In the meantime, all agreed that a parliament must be summoned; and the three estates having assembled at Edinburgh on the 16th of January, Lord St John, who had been overtaken on his journey by the news of the king's death, laid before them the letter with which he had been intrusted by their sovereign and her late husband. It informed them that their envoy had assured her of their earnest wish to remain faithful and obedient subjects; but in the account which she had received of the proceedings of their late assembly, (so she termed the parliament in which they had established the reformed faith,) she lamented to observe how far their conduct had deviated from their professions. Yet so anxious was she for their return to their duty, that she had resolved to despatch two noble persons as her envoys into Scotland, bearing her commission to convene a legal parliament, in which their requests should be fully considered, and their faults buried and forgotten.³

It was evident to the Lords of the Congregation, that the king's death, which happened three weeks after this letter was written, must have the effect of altering, in a great degree, the mutual relations between them and their sovereign: they saw, at the

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 6th December, 1560.

² Ibid. Lethington to Cecil, 6th February, 1560-1, Scots Correspondence.

³ MS. letter, copy, State-paper Office, Orleans, 17th Nov. 1560.

same time, that much would depend upon the policy of England ; and they therefore turned with anxiety to receive the reply of Elizabeth to their late embassy.¹ It was favourable, so far as she assured them that their thankful acceptance of her assistance, and the good fruits which had resulted from it, would encourage her to proffer the same aid, should they ever require it in their defence. She declined the offer of marriage with the Earl of Arran, but, in terms flattering to the estates and to himself, acknowledging their good will in offering to her the choicest person whom they had, and pronouncing him a noble gentleman of great worthiness, she concluded by earnestly recommending unanimity amongst themselves, warning them of the practices which might still be attempted against them, and (with a glance towards France) declared her readiness to enter into a common defence against any common enemy.²

Having weighed these answers, it was determined by the parliament that their sovereign, who was now unfettered by any ties to France, should be invited to return to her own dominions, and that her brother the Lord James, the chief leader of the Congregation, should instantly proceed as an ambassador to that kingdom, to declare their wishes upon this point. It might have been imagined that this potent person, who had made himself so obnoxious to the Guisean faction, would have declined this dangerous mission. But although the task was delicate and difficult, there were circumstances which convinced him, that if he was to retain the power he now possessed, he must embrace it.

¹ The ambassadors returned 3d January, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 3d January, 1560-1.

² British Museum, Caligula, book x. fol. 133. A copy from the original in Lord Burghley's hand. 8th December, 1560. Printed in Keith, p. 158.

The Earl of Huntley, the head of the Roman Catholic party, his principal rival, and the only man whose strength and abilities he dreaded, had already assembled his friends, and he was anxious to anticipate any message they might send to France.¹ Even before the king's death, the Lord James had entered into a correspondence with the young queen, in which he solicited the renewal of his French pension; and, in reply, Mary had assured him, that if he would return to his duty, not only the pension awaited him, but the highest favours that could be conferred, whether he disposed himself to be ecclesiastical or temporal.²

But whilst he thus prepared the way for a reconciliation with his own sovereign, and hoped to be intrusted with the principal management of her affairs, the Lord James had no intention of deserting the lucrative service of England. At the same moment he applied, through Throckmorton, to Cecil, requesting a recompence out of some abbey, or pension in his own country, for the losses he had sustained.³ He resolved also to visit London, on his road to France, and, in an interview with Elizabeth, to acquaint that princess with the purport of his message, and the course of conduct which he and his party had determined to follow: If the Congregation found that their sovereign, listening to the counsel of the house of Guise, which had already

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Scots Correspondence, Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, 23d December, 1560. Also, original MS. State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 7th September, 1560. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, original, Randolph to Cecil, 23d September, 1560.

² MS. letter, French Correspondence, State-paper Office, 29th Nov. 1560, Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Cecil, 29th November, 1560. "If," says Throckmorton, "the allotment of his recompence could be so used as the Earl of Arran might be seen to be the principal doer thereof, it would, in my opinion, do no harm."

occasioned a civil war, meant to renew its horrors by bringing with her a foreign force, they had resolved not to receive her, but to communicate the matter to the Queen of England, who, says Lethington, will have power to command what she thinketh rathest¹ to be followed, without whose advice, he adds, “we dare not enterprise any great thing.”² If, on the contrary, Mary was content to come home, unaccompanied by any foreign force, and to repose her confidence in her own subjects, he was to assure her of their loyalty and affection, and to advise her to take her journey through England, where she might have an interview with Elizabeth, and from which her subjects would accompany her honourably to her own country.

One difficulty remained on the subject of religion. The young queen rigidly adhered to the Roman Catholic faith, yet it had by parliament been pronounced death for any one to hear mass; and the ministers of the Kirk admonished him, that if he consented that she should have that service performed either publicly or privately, they would consider him as betraying the cause of God, and exposing religion to the utmost peril. He answered, that he should never consent to the establishment of this idolatrous worship in public, but that he could not consent to the violent advice of those who would stop her from the private exercise of her own form of worship.³ Having thus received his instructions, the parliament was prorogued till the 21st of May.

At the same time that the three estates committed this important mission to the Lord James, a secret

¹ Rathest; earliest, if used in its old English meaning; but here, from the context, it seems rather to be used in the sense of “preferable.”

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, Feb. 6, 1560-1.

³ British Museum, MS. Calderwood, vol. i. p. 458.

convention was held by the Catholic party, which was attended by the Archbishop of St Andrews; the Bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross; the Earls of Huntley, Athole, Crawford, Sutherland, Marshal, Caithness, and many other barons, who intrusted Lesley, then official of Aberdeen, and afterwards Bishop of Ross, with a commission to repair to the French court, and present to their sovereign their offers of service and expressions of devoted attachment.

The departure of both envoys, however, was delayed by the arrival of four commissioners from the queen.¹ These were Preston of Craigmillar, Ogilvy of Findlater, Lumsden of Blanern, and Lesley of Auchtermuchty. The message which they brought from their royal mistress was full of affection and conciliation. She assured them that she meant shortly to return home; that all offences should be forgiven, and that the few French soldiers who still remained in garrison within Dunbar and the Inch should be sent out of the country. She informed them that offers of marriage had been already made to her on the part of the Prince of Spain and the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, but that she had resolved to entertain none of these proposals till she could in person consult her nobles and receive the assent of her people. To them she looked, and to their support, as the only sure foundation of her greatness.² They presented at the same time a commission directed to seven leading men in Scotland, the Duke of Chastelherault, Argyle, Athole, Huntley, Bothwell, the Lord James, and the Archbishop of St Andrews, directing them to summon a parliament, and notifying that the French king had resolved to despatch

¹ February 20, 1560-1.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 26th February, 1560-1.

Monsieur de Noailles to propose to the three estates the renewal of the ancient league between France and Scotland, a proposal which met with her hearty concurrence. Mary seized this moment earnestly to recommend to her subjects, of all parties, the duty of mutual forbearance and forgiveness. She addressed letters to almost every leading man in Scotland, assuring those who had most offended against her, that she was determined to forget all injuries, and to continue them in their offices of trust if they would but faithfully serve her.¹

At the time when these messengers arrived from the queen, Scotland was divided, as we are informed by the Secretary Lethington, into three parties.² The first he denominates the neutrals, who, as they were before this careless of the commonweal, were now ready to receive whatever was propounded to them under the shadow of the prince's command, without examination either of its justice or its consequences. The second faction consisted of the Duke of Chastelherault and the friends of his house : he considered his only security to be a marriage between Arran his eldest son, and Mary. In advising this, the sole counsellor and confidant of Arran was Knox ; to promote it, Forbes, a confidential friend of the Hamiltons, had already proceeded on a secret mission to France ; and although the queen was too cautious to commit herself, the messenger was received with favour, and an answer returned which at least did not extinguish his hopes.³ The third party is described

¹ MS. letter, French Correspondence, State-paper Office, Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 23d January, 1560-1. MS. Instructions to the four Commissioners, State-paper Office, without date.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, 26th February, 1560-1, Lethington to Cecil.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 3d Jan. 1560-1.

by the same acute statesman, himself an eye-witness and principal leader amongst them, as important alike in numbers, rank, and power. It was their opinion that every method should be adopted to persuade their sovereign to return into her own realm, where they were ready to secure for her a favourable reception, under the single condition that she came without a foreign force, and was content to govern by her own subjects. If she consented to this, it was his belief that ways would easily be found to induce her to favour the religion, confirm the treaty with England, and reform all abuses. Lethington concluded the letter which gives us this information, by pointing out to Cecil the dangers which must follow the renewal of the league with France, and anticipated his own certain ruin if the amity with England were dissolved. "I pray you," says he, "consider what danger it is for me to write. Many men's eyes look upon me; my familiarity with that realm is known, and so far disliked, that I learn it shall be my undoing, unless the queen may be made favourable to England, which I fear shall be hard to do."¹ Nor was he singular in this opinion, the whole party of the Congregation looking to Elizabeth as their surest protection against the designs of France and the anticipated resentment of their sovereign.

On the first intelligence of the death of Francis, this princess prepared to pursue that cautious and double policy which should preserve her interest in Scotland at the least possible expense to herself. She despatched the Earl of Bedford to present her condolences to Mary, and to assure her of her warmest wishes for the continuance of peace between her own kingdom and Scot-

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, 26th February, 1560-1.

land, but to require at the same time the confirmation of the treaty of Edinburgh, concluded by her commissioners, and of which the ratification, she contended, had been delayed on frivolous pretences.¹ It was to be a main part of Bedford's duty to persuade the queen to give the same freedom to her country that it had enjoyed during the reign of her father, James the Fifth, which consisted chiefly in its being governed by its own laws, and ruled by means of its "natural or born" people. He was to remind her how quiet the kingdom had remained since the removal of the French troops; to declare that for the last hundred years the borders had not enjoyed so much peace as at present; and if he discovered any disposition in the house of Guise to promote her marriage with Spain or Austria, he was to incite the King of Navarre, and the Protestant party in France, to oppose it as contrary to his own greatness and the best interests of Christendom.² Soon after this, Elizabeth instructed Randolph, then resident as her envoy at the Scottish capital, in the policy which he ought to pursue. He was directed to inform the leaders of the Protestants of the league lately renewed amongst the princes of Germany for their mutual defence against the pope and his adherents, and to show them how earnestly they had exhorted her to continue firm in her religion. He was to express her determination to adhere to the great principles of the Reformation, to exhort the Scottish reformers to labour for the continuance of the peace with England, and to persuade them against the renewal of the ancient unprofitable alliance with France.³

¹ MS. Instructions, State-paper Office, Sir J. Williamson's Collection, first series, vol. xix. p. 547, 20th January, 1560-1.

² Ibid.

³ Haynes, State Papers, p. 366, 17th March, 1560-1.

Bedford arrived at Paris, on the 3d of February, and on the 15th of that month proceeded to the court at Fontainbleau, where he delivered his message to the Scottish queen.¹ He was received by Mary with the courteous and winning manners for which she was so remarkable : she expressed her kindly feelings towards Elizabeth, and her desire to remain in amity with England, but steadily declined to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh² till she had returned to her kingdom and consulted the wishes of her parliament. The interview is minutely described in an original letter of Bedford and Throckmorton to the privy council. They were conducted to the presence of the Queen of Scotland by D'Osell, who had been restored to favour and made her knight of honour ; and on being pressed to show her desire of peace with Elizabeth, by confirming the treaty of Edinburgh without more delay, Mary replied, “that there were more reasons to persuade to amity between Elizabeth her good sister and herself, than between any two princes in all Christendom ; we are both (said she) in one isle, both of one language, both the nearest kinswomen that each other hath, and both queens. As to the treaty of Edinburgh, I am here, (she continued,) as you see, without all counsel ; my uncle, (the Cardinal of Lorraine,) who hath the ordering of all my affairs, and by whom (as reason is) I ought to be advised, is not here presently ; and Mons. l'Ambassadeur, it is also the queen my good sister's advice, that I should take the counsel of the nobles and wise men of mine own realm, as hath been declared by you unto me. You know well enough, (quoth she,) ”

¹ State-paper Office, French Correspondence, 12th February, 1560-1; also, State-paper Office, Sir J. Williamson's Collection, first series, vol. xix. p. 585, Report of Bedford and Throckmorton to the privy council.

² *Supra*, p. 125.

here are none of them, but I look to have some of them here shortly ; and then will I make the queen such an answer as she will be pleased with." The Earl of Bedford again insisted, that she was bound in honour immediately to grant a ratification, which had been already too long delayed. " Helas, my lord," interrupted Mary, " what would you have me do ? I have no council here ; the matter is great to ratify a treaty ; and especially for one of my years :" she was then eighteen. The sagacious Throckmorton then attempted to reply to these reasonable scruples. " Madam," said he, " Mons. de Guise, your uncle, is here present, by whom, I think, as reason is, you will be advised. I see others here also, of whom you have been pleased to take counsel ; the matter is not such but that you may proceed without any great delay, seeing it hath been promised so often that it should be ratified."—" Helas, Mons. l'Ambassadeur," quoth she, " for those things that were done in my late husband's time, I am not to be charged, for then I was under his obedience ; and now I would be loath to do any thing unadvisedly ; but because it is a great matter, I pray you give me respite till I speak with you again ;" with which answer the ambassadors were contented for the time. But when taking their leave, Mary recalled Throckmorton : " Mons. l'Ambassadeur," said she, pleasantly, " I have to challenge you with breach of promise : you can remember that you promised me, in case I would send to the queen my good sister my picture, that I should have hers in recompense thereof ; and because I made no small account of the same, I was very glad that that condition was offered me to have it. You know I have sent mine to the queen my good sister according to my promise, but have not received hers : I pray you,

therefore, procure that I may have it, whereof I am so desirous, and now more than before, that I shall think the time long till I have it."

On the morrow, Bedford and Throckmorton having obtained a second audience, reminded Mary of her promise to give them her final answer: "My Lord," quoth the queen, "inasmuch as I have none of the nobles of my realm of Scotland here, to take advice of, by whom the queen, my good sister, doth advise me to be counselled, I dare not, nor think not good, to ratify this said treaty; and, as you know, if I should do any act that might concern the realm, without their advice and counsel, it were like [likely] I should have them such subjects unto me, as I have had them. But for all such matters as be past, I have forgotten them; and, at the queen my good sister's desire, I have pardoned them, trusting that I shall find them hereafter, by her good means, better and more loving subjects than they have been. Whether I have cause to think amiss of them or no, I durst put it to her judgment. This, my lord, I pray you think concerning the ratification of the treaty: I do not refuse to ratify it because I do not mind to do it;¹ nor I use not these delays as excuses to shift off the matter; for if my council were here, I would give you such an answer as should satisfy you. And I pray you to tell the queen my good sister I trust, ere it be long, some of the nobility and council of Scotland will be here, for I do hear they mean to send some shortly unto me: *peradventure you know it as well as I.* And when I shall have communed with them, I mind to send my good sister the queen, your mistress, such an answer as I trust she shall be pleased with

¹ She means to say, "My present refusal does not proceed from any resolution not to ratify it."

it; for I mean to send one of mine own unto her ere it be long. In the meantime, I pray you, declare unto her from me, that I would we might speak together, and then I trust we should satisfy each other much better than we can do by messages and ministers. This the queen my sister may assure herself of, that she shall find none more willing to embrace her friendship and amity than I; and there is none that ought to take more place with her than me. She can consider in what state I am in, and what need I have to have the amity of such a one as she is. Tell her, I pray you, how much I am desirous to see her, and also that I am in good hope it will come to pass.” “And thus,” concluded the ambassadors, in their letter to the privy council, “after many good words to and fro, we took our leave of her: marry, she forgot not to pray us both once again, to remember to procure that she might have the queen’s majesty’s picture.”¹

Not long after the return of Bedford, the Lord James having consulted with Lethington and his party, on the policy which they should pursue, repaired to the English court: there, in an interview with Elizabeth, who pressed him to procure the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, he assured that princess, that in his present visit to the queen his sister, he bore no public commission; it was dictated, he said, solely by his own private feelings; and the only message he conveyed from the nobility and council, was a general declaration of their duty and devotion to their sovereign.² But although Moray declined to press Mary on this

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office. The Earl of Bedford and Sir N. Throckmorton to the privy council, 26th February, 1560-1. Sir J. Williamson’s Collection, vol. xix. p. 54.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Elizabeth to Sir N. Throckmorton, draft by Cecil, 29th March, 1561. MS. letter, State-paper Office, Scots Correspondence, 7th February, 1560, the Lord James to Cecil.

subject of the treaty, he did not fail to inform Elizabeth minutely regarding the intended proceedings of himself and his friends. "The Lord James," said Lethington, addressing Cecil and alluding to the journey, "mindeth to sue to the queen's majesty [Elizabeth] for a passport, and in his passage to make her highness participant as well of that he hath in charge, as what he mindeth to do. You know somewhat of his nature, and I dare undertake that he is no dissembler."¹ With Cecil also the same ambitious and able man held a private consultation; and it is curious to observe, that between two such consummate politicians as Cecil and Throckmorton there existed a difference of opinion as to the propriety of permitting him to take his journey into France. Throckmorton, then minister at the French court, a witness to the skilfulness of Guisean diplomacy, and not insensible to the fascination of the manners of the young queen, dreaded that he would be gained over by the bribes which were preparing for him; or, should his integrity or his self-interest resist these temptations, that some means would be found to detain him in France. "I understand," says this ambassador, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, "that the Lord James of Scotland is appointed to come hither to the Queen of Scotland. I am very sorry for it, and so shall be still, till I see the contrary of that fall out, which I yet fear by his coming. I learn that this king, by means of the Queen of Scotland, deviseth all the means he can to win him to his devotion; and for that purpose hath both procured the red hat for him if he will accept it, and also mindeth to endow him with good abbeys and benefices in this realm. If advancement or fair words

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, Feb. 6, 1560-1.

shall win him, he shall not want the one or the other. If he so much esteem the religion he professeth, and the honour of his country and himself, that none of these things shall win him to this devotion, then it is to be feared that they will work ways to keep him still by fair or foul means. * * On the other side, if he will be won, then your majesty knoweth he may be, and it is like he will be, the most perilous man to your majesty and your realm of all the realm of Scotland, and most able to stand this king in his best stead for the matters there: so that his coming cannot but prejudice every way; and I believe verily if he come, he will not return into Scotland so soon as he thinketh."¹

Cecil, however, knew that the Lord James was devotedly attached to England. From the correspondence with Lethington, he was aware that both Maitland and he considered their own safety as inseparably connected with the maintenance of their fidelity to Elizabeth; and having concerted their measures together, the English secretary felt little disposition to distrust the Scottish envoy, but treating him with the highest courtesy, dismissed him with earnest injunctions to attend to his personal safety.²

Having arrived at Paris, Moray found that the queen his sovereign was then at Rheims, to which place he proceeded, after having consulted with Throckmorton, and delivered to that minister the letters he had received from Cecil.³ He found himself anticipated

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to the Queen, Paris, March 31, 1561.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Cecil to Throckmorton, April 4, 1561.

³ He arrived some time before the 9th of April, and did not see his sovereign till the 14th of the same month. MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Cecil, 9th April, 1561.

by Lesley the envoy of Huntley, who professed to represent the Catholic party. This able man, the very day before her brother was admitted, had solicited and obtained an interview with the queen. It seems, however, to have produced little effect upon the mind of Mary. She had been impressed with an unfavourable opinion of Huntley, from his late wavering and crafty conduct. Although he professed an unshaken attachment to the Romish faith, and made the warmest professions of loyalty to his sovereign, this powerful noble had, scarcely a year before, joined the party of the Congregation, upon an understanding that he should be supported in his power in the north, and share in the ecclesiastical prizes which the leaders were then dividing amongst them.¹ When, therefore, Lesley brought from him his assurances of fidelity, warned his mistress to beware of the intrigues and ambition of her brother the Lord James, and hinted that he had designs against the crown, it is not surprising that Mary listened to his communication with incredulity.² She, however, received the envoy with kindness, and commanded him to remain near her person.³

To Moray her behaviour was more warm and confidential. He came to her, as he stated, not with any public commission, but impelled by his affection, and anxious to offer her his services, as one who knew the state of parties in her dominions; and so completely did his blunt and open deportment impress her with an opinion of his integrity, that in a few days he had gained a decided influence over the mind of his sove-

¹ MS. State-paper Office, "My Lord of Huntley's desires and coun-sel," 18th April, 1560.

² Keith, p. 160.

³ Lesley, Bannatyne edition, p. 294.

reign. He appears, in his manner of managing this difficult mission, to have acted with great address and duplicity. His object, according to the expressive phrase of Lethington, was to “grop the mind of the young queen,” and, having discovered her intentions, to shape his counsels and his conduct so as best to secure the interests of the Congregation, the friendship of Elizabeth, and the preservation of his own power. Had Mary been aware that the man in whom she was about to confide, had already made Elizabeth and Cecil participant in his intentions, and that nothing was to be done in Scottish matters without consulting the English queen, she would have hesitated before she gave entire credit to one so likely to abuse it; but of this she was ignorant; and the Catholic party, who had attempted to put her on her guard, were not themselves above suspicion. D’Osell, in whom she placed much confidence, was untrue to her; and, acting in the interest of Elizabeth,¹ advised her to confide implicitly in the Lord James. Her temper was open and unsuspecting; and one of the most fatal faults in her character was the facility with which her affections were engaged, and the dangerous and rapid reliance she was disposed to place in all whom she trusted. She listened, therefore, to her brother with a generous forgetfulness of the part which, as she believed, his conscientious adherence to the reformed faith had compelled him to take against her; and when he pressed her to return to her dominions, and assured her of a cordial welcome from himself and her subjects,² she flattered herself his protestations were sincere, and

¹ This is quite apparent from the secret correspondence of Throckmorton and Cecil, in the State-paper Office.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Cecil, 26th July, 1561, Paris.

disclosed to him her intentions with an imprudent precipitation. She declared that she would never ratify the treaty of Edinburgh till she came into Scotland and took the advice of her parliament. She did not scruple to admit, that the amity between England and Scotland was little agreeable to her, and that, considering the terms of the league lately made betwixt the two realms, she was anxious to have it dissolved. It was evident also to the Lord James, from the expressions of the queen, that she would never marry the Earl of Arran ; but was anxious to procure the consent of her subjects to a union with some foreign prince. She had sent her commands that no parliament should be assembled, and no business of importance concluded, till she had personally met with her people ; and she confessed that her present intention was to return to Scotland, not through England, but by sea.¹

Notwithstanding all this, there is reason to believe that an immediate return to her kingdom was not at this moment very anxiously desired by Mary. To leave France, where, as the queen of one of the first monarchies in Europe, she was accustomed to all the splendour and adulation attendant upon so high a rank, where she had been the attractive centre of a refined court, to repair to an inferior kingdom, inhabited by a ruder people, who spoke of her as an idolatress and an enemy, was sufficiently appalling. But other reasons weighed with her, and produced delay. Her hand was now solicited by some of the greatest princes on the continent ; and the same suitors who had courted Elizabeth, and whom that queen felt a pride in keeping in her train, now offered an unpardonable affront to her vanity by transferring their admiration to her

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 29th April, 1561.

beautiful rival. The King of Denmark, reputed to be by sea the strongest prince in Christendom, had offered to enter into a strict league with France, should he succeed in his addresses to Mary.¹ The King of Sweden had despatched an embassy proposing himself in marriage; and at this very time the jealous and busy eye of Throckmorton had detected a secret overture for a matrimonial alliance with the Prince of Spain, which created alarm to the English ambassador, and did not escape the watchful observation of the Lord James.² To gain time to conclude this negotiation was one great object of the Scottish queen; and with this view she was inclined to delay her immediate journey home, and intrust her affairs, in the mean season, to the management of the Lord James. But, prior to her final resolution, both the queen and the Guises endeavoured, with great earnestness, to induce him to embrace the creed of Rome. He was offered a cardinal's hat and the highest advancement, should he prefer an ecclesiastical to a civil career; but he resisted every bribe, remaining true to the reformed faith and his engagements with England. This firmness in his purpose rather raised than lowered him in the esteem of the queen his sister. She imagined, but erroneously, that he who was thus guided by a conscientious adherence to the party of which he formed the head, would be equally true to her. She confided to him her intended measures regarding Scotland; and when he parted from her, she had promised him her commission to assume the government of the country till her arrival in her dominions, and engaged to send

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Elizabeth, March 31, 1561.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Cecil, April 23, 1561.

it to him by a gentleman whom he left behind for this purpose.¹

On taking leave of his sovereign, the Lord James returned to Paris, and having secretly met the English ambassador, insidiously betrayed to him every thing that had passed between Mary and himself. These particulars Throckmorton immediately communicated to Elizabeth,² observing that the Scottish lord would himself detail the circumstances more particularly to her majesty when he came to her presence. It is of importance at this moment, to the full understanding of the secret history of this period, to attend to some of the passages of the letter addressed by the ambassador to that princess. “At this present,” (29th April, 1561,) says he, “thanks be to God, your majesty hath peace with all the world, and I see no occasion to move unto your majesty, or your realm, any war from any place or person, but by the Queen of Scotland and her means; neither do I see any danger that may grow to your realm but by Scotland. Then wisdom doth advise your majesty to buy your surety, quietness and felicity, though it cost you dear. The means to assure this is, in time, before any other put in his feet, his hire, and practices, to win unto your

¹ State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to the Queen, (Elizabeth,) 1st May, 1561.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to the Queen, 29th April, 1561. It is to the preservation of this letter in the Correspondence of the State-paper Office, that I owe the detection of Moray’s intrigues with Elizabeth, and the disclosure of the duplicity with which he acted. I subjoin the passage which proves the assertion in the text, as it is of importance:—“When the Lord James, being the same day [22d April] arrived at this town, came to my lodging *secretly unto me*, and declared to me at good length, all that had passed between the queen his sister and him, and between the Cardinal Lorraine and him. The circumstances whereof he will declare unto your majesty particularly when he cometh to your presence. I suppose he will be in England about the 10th or 12th of May.”

majesty's devotion and party, the mightiest, the wisest, and the most honest of the realm of Scotland. And though it be to your majesty great charge, as twenty thousand pounds yearly, yet it is in no wise to be omitted or spared. And in sorting your entertainment to every person, there should be some special consideration had of the Earl of Arran, because he is the second person of that realm, whose quality and credit your majesty knoweth better than I; and in like manner of the Lord James, whose credit, love, and honesty, is comparable, in my judgment, to any man of that realm. It is now your majesty's time, and never shall you have a better opportunity, to work the Scottish affection to your devotion." Another passage from the same letter, eulogizing the Lord James, proves that Elizabeth had already, by some substantial consideration, or, as Throckmorton expresses it, "some good turn," engaged him in her service; and demonstrates in strong language the system of corruption by which Throckmorton advised that the assistance of the leading lay reformers of Scotland should be secured. "Lastly," said he, "I do well perceive the Lord James to be a very honourable, sincere, and godly gentleman, and very much affected to your majesty, upon whom you never bestowed good turn better than on him, in my opinion. He is a man, in my simple judgment, for many respects, much worthy to be cherished, and his amity to be well embraced and entertained: for besides his own well deserving, he is as well able to serve your majesty, by himself and his friends, as any man there in Scotland; though the queen his sister will seek to bring in thither some puissant foreign power, to subject all upside down, or though she would seek to serve her turn and affection by some others of her nation that be in-

clined to greater legerity, inconstancy, and corruption. * * For, if I be not greatly deceived, no man can tell yet, nor is able to ground a certain judgment, what shall become of the realm of Scotland. And therefore it shall be good for your majesty upon all events to retain and win as many friends there as you can, that if one will not serve your turn, another may. There be attending here on the Lord James, two men amongst others that are to be cherished by your majesty. The one is the Laird of Pitarrow, a grave wise man, and such a one as the Queen of Scotland, for God's cause and yours, doth much mislike. The other is Mr John Wood, secretary to the Lord James, a man in whom there is much virtue and sufficiency. There be two others which are well known to your majesty, which are in like case to be well cherished: the one is Alexander Clark, the other is Robert Melvin."¹ These passages sufficiently explain the extraordinary difficulties of Mary's situation, the venality of the times, and the lamentable want of principle in that class from which she was compelled to choose her counsellors.

The queen, on taking leave of her brother, had earnestly dissuaded him from visiting the French court or passing through England. She naturally dreaded the influence of the Protestant party in France, and of Elizabeth in England; and when she found that her wishes were not obeyed, she dismissed the gentleman, by whom he expected to receive the commission appointing him governor, with a brief intimation that she meant to intrust that authority to no person till her own arrival in her dominions. "The special cause," says Throckmorton, in writing to the Queen of

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 29th April, 1561, Paris.

England, “ why she hath changed her opinion for the Lord James, as I hear, is, that she could by no means dissuade him from his devotion and good opinion towards your majesty, and the observation of the league between your majesty and the realm of Scotland; and also, that neither she nor the Cardinal Lorraine could win nor divert him from his religion, wherein they used very great means and persuasions. For which respects the said Lord James deserveth to be the more esteemed; and seeing he hath dealt so plainly with the queen his sovereign on your behalf, and showed himself so constant in religion, that neither the fear of his sovereign’s indignation could waver him, nor great promises win him, your majesty may, in my opinion, make good account of his constancy towards you: and so he deserveth to be well entertained and made of, as one that may stand you in no small stead for the advancement of your desire. And in case your majesty would now in time liberally and honourably consider him with some good means, to make him to be the more beholden to you, it would, in my simple judgment, serve your majesty to great purpose.”¹

Moray, having left Paris, passed over to Dover, and from thence to the English court. The step taken by the Scottish queen, in withholding his promised commission as governor, convinced him that, since their interview, her policy had changed; his measures, therefore, experienced a similar alteration. He was suspected: the queen had resolved to return to her dominions sooner than he had contemplated; and it became necessary for him to provide against it. He knew from Throckmorton, whose sagacity penetrated into the whole system of the French intrigues in

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to the Queen, 1st May, 1561, Paris.

Scotland, that a strong Romish party was forming against him ; “*love days*”¹ had been made amongst the Papists² by Mary’s advice ; Lethington, in a letter to Throckmorton, informed that minister, that French gold, which had before this worked so much mischief in the country, might have the same effect again, if England grew lukewarm, and hinted at the necessity of bribing the leading men in Scotland. “I remember,” said he, “one old verse of Chaucer, ‘With empty hand men should no hawkis lure,’ *sapienti pauca.*”³

Meantime Moray, who remained at the English court, consulted with Elizabeth on the adoption of every method by which Mary might be detained in France : if this failed, and she set out on her journey, it was devised that means should be taken to intercept her on her passage to her dominions.⁴ Having acted this disingenuous part, he repaired to Scotland fully instructed by Cecil in the policy which they thought proper to adopt. He found there Noailles the French ambassador, who, during his absence, had been sent by Mary to communicate her wishes and intention ; and soon after his arrival, in the end of May,⁵ a convention of the nobility was held, in which the Protestant party carried some violent resolutions against renewing the league with France.⁶ At this assembly Noailles the

¹ “Love Days”—days of reconciliation and forgiveness.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Cecil, 21st May, Paris.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, copy, Lethington to Throckmorton, 10th June, 1561, Edinburgh.

⁴ Copy sent at the time to Elizabeth. State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to the Lord James, 26th June, 1561. Camden apud Kennet, vol. i. p. 387. Keith, p. 179.

⁵ Neither Keith nor Knox fix the precise date of Moray’s arrival at Edinburgh. By a letter of Throckmorton to the Lord James, it appears that he was in London on the 20th May, and at Edinburgh on the 3d June.

⁶ Keith, p. 161.

French ambassador received his audience, and having urged them to break with England, met with a decided refusal. They reminded him of the late cruel war which the French had carried on in Scotland, of the seasonable assistance of Elizabeth, and of the tyranny of the Romish clergy, whom, instead of pastors, they had found to be wolves, thieves, and murderers of the flock. To dissolve a righteous league, which had been cemented in the name of God, and to enter again into alliance with those who were the sworn vassals of that papal tyranny which they had cast off, was, they declared, a proceeding to which they never would give their consent.

With this reply Noailles returned to France; and Elizabeth, judging this a proper conjuncture to make a last effort to procure from Mary the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, instructed Throckmorton, her ambassador at Paris, to visit her for this purpose. His request was temperately, but decidedly, denied. The Scottish queen informed him, that she had now finally resolved to return to her dominions in Scotland, where she would have an opportunity of consulting the estates of her realm, without whose advice it would be improper for her to act in this matter: she added, that she had resolved to withdraw all Frenchmen from Scotland; that she regretted their presence had given discontent to her subjects and excited jealousy in her good sister; but that nothing should be left undone to satisfy the Queen of England, from whom she expected the like good offices in return. Throckmorton observed in reply, that it seemed superfluous to delay the ratification of the treaty till she had obtained the advice of her nobles and the estates of the realm, of whose opinion there could be no doubt, as the treaty was made by their consent. "Yea," said Mary, "by

some of them, but not by all.¹ It will appear, when I come amongst them, whether they be of the same mind that you say they were then of. But of this I assure you, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I for my part am very desirous to have the perfect and the assured amity of the queen my good sister, and I will use all the means I can to give her occasion to think that I mean it indeed."—"I answered," says Throckmorton, "Madam, the queen my mistress, you may be assured, will use the like towards you, to move you to be of the same opinion towards her."—"Then," said she, "I trust the queen your mistress will not support nor encourage any of my subjects to continue in their disobedience, nor take upon them things which appertaineth not to subjects. You know (quoth she) there is much ado in my realm about the matters of religion; and though there be a greater number of a contrary religion to me than I would there were, yet there is no reason that subjects should give a law to their sovereign, and specially in matters of religion, which I fear (quoth she) my subjects will take in hand." In reply to this, the ambassador adverted to the great changes in religion which had taken place in Scotland, and to the fact that the majority in that kingdom were Protestants. Mary does not appear to have denied this; and, in answer to a remark of Throckmorton, admitted that she had often heard her uncle the cardinal say, there was much room for reformation in the discipline of the Church of Rome; but observed, at the same time, that she was none of those who would change their religion every year. "I mean," said she, "to constrain none of my subjects, but would wish that they were all as I am; and I trust they shall have no support to constrain me."²

¹ Keith, p. 166.

² Ibid. p. 167.

Mary, as we see from this interview, had resolved to visit her dominions ; but although she could thus ably reply to so experienced a diplomatist as Throckmorton, it was her peculiar misfortune that she gave her confidence to those who betrayed it to her adversaries. Amongst these was D'Osell, who enjoyed much credit with her, and had been despatched to solicit a passport from the English queen. He was accompanied by a gentleman,¹ who was to bring it to France, whilst he pursued his journey into Scotland to prepare for his mistress's reception. But D'Osell was altogether unworthy of the trust reposed in him ; he communicated to Throckmorton, previous to setting out, the intended movements of the queen, and, on being admitted to an audience, disclosed them to Elizabeth, and advised with her how she ought to proceed. She accordingly refused the passport ; with much acrimony and violence gave secret orders for the preparation of some ships of war, which, under pretence of scouring the seas for pirates, were to watch for the Scottish queen ; and, instead of permitting D'Osell to continue his journey to Scotland, sent him back to Paris to inform Mary of her resolution, and secretly to communicate her intentions to Throckmorton.

This ambassador, in a letter to Cecil, expressed surprise and regret at this change of measures. "I do somewhat marvel," said he, "at this resolution on the Queen of Scotland's demand for a passage ; and the rather that, by all former writings and messages, it seemed to me that her majesty was of the mind to have the said queen enticed to go from hence, and to be

¹ Original, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Cecil, June 30, 1561.

advised by the councillors of her own realm, where, as I take it, many occasions of unquietness and practice might be taken away that her being here might work, both by the heads of such as here she is ruled by, and also by the solicitation of such princes as like to entertain, cumber, and be desirous of her: which to do, neither the one nor the other cannot have such commodity if she were in Scotland. I think also upon that you write, that your friends in Scotland will most allow that resolution; wherat I somewhat muse, seeing the Lord James, at his late being here, wrought what he could, and in the same mind hath continued, to persuade the said queen, his sister, to come home; *and if he be now of another mind, I know not what he meaneth.* But if he persist in his former opinion, then it may be feared, that you shall offend more than the Queen of Scotland." Throckmorton next alluded to the idea of intercepting Mary. * * * "Because," said he, "I hear nothing of such as come from thence [England] of any equipage or force by sea in readiness to empesche the Queen of Scotland's passage, or to make that good that Monsieur D'Osell hath reported here her majesty said unto him—which was, that her majesty would provide to keep the Queen of Scotland from passing home—I have thought good to say thus much to you, that better it had been if no such thing had been said, but passage granted, if no provision or show be made to empesche her indeed. * * * And yet I will not advise you to counsel the queen to be at any great cost, inasmuch as the truth and certainty of the Queen of Scotland's journey is not known, nor the certain place of her embarking." To this letter this emphatic postscript was added: "If you mind to catch the Queen of Scots, your ships must search and

see all, for she meaneth rather to steal away than to pass with force."¹

There is another passage, in a letter from Cecil to the Earl of Sussex, which throws a clear light on this refusal of the passport, and establishes the point, that Moray and the Protestant party in Scotland were anxious that she should not be permitted to return to her kingdom. "Monsieur D'Osell," says he, "came from the Scots queen, with the request that the queen his mistress might have a safe-conduct to pass along our sea-coasts, and himself to pass into Scotland to provide for her coming. Many reasons moved us to mislike her passage, but this only served us for answer, That where she had promised to send the queen's majesty a good answer for the ratification of the last league of peace, made at Edinburgh, and now had sent none, her majesty would not disguise with her, but plainly would forbear to show her such pleasure until she should ratify it; and that done, she should not only have free passage, but all helps and gratuities. Monsieur D'Osell was also gently required to return with this answer: what will follow we shall shortly see. *This proceeding will like the Scots well.*"²

At this moment the seas were much infested by pirates, and the English queen, who dreaded the expense and the obloquy to which she would be exposed if she openly prepared a fleet to intercept Mary, took advantage of this circumstance to put out to sea some ships of war, with the avowed object of protecting her merchants, but with secret instructions to be on

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Cecil, Paris, 26th July, 1561.

² MS. letter, British Museum, Cecil to Sussex. Titus, book xiii. 42, dorso. Dated, Newhall, 25th July, 1561.

the watch for the Scottish queen, and not to suffer her to pass.¹

The refusal of a passport by Elizabeth deeply wounded Mary; but although she dreaded the hostile intentions of that queen, her preparations were now so far advanced, that she determined they should not be countermanded. On the 26th July, she gave a final audience to the English ambassador; and of this interview we have fortunately a minute and interesting account, transmitted by Throckmorton to his royal mistress. It is impossible to read it without forming a favourable idea of the prudence, dignity, and spirit of the young Queen of Scotland. When the ambassador was introduced, she commanded all the audience to retire. "I know not well," said she, "my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported, but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions as the queen your mistress was content to have when she talked with Monsieur D'Osell." She then continued, "There is nothing, Monsieur l'Am-dassadeur, doth more grieve me, than that I did so forget myself, as to require of the queen your mistress that favour which I had no need to ask. I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey than she doth me of hers. I may pass well enough home into mine own realm, I think, without her passport or license; for though the late king your master used all the impeachment he could, both to stay me and catch

¹ This important fact seems to me to be established by a letter which Cecil addressed to Sussex. "The Scottish queen," says he, "was the 10th of this month at Bulloign, and meaneth to take shipping at Calais. Neither they in Scotland, nor we here, do like her going home. The queen's majesty hath three ships in the North Seas, to preserve the fishers from pirates. *I think they will be sorry to see her pass.*" MS. letter, Cecil to Sussex, Smallbridge, Mr Smalldegrave's house, the 12th of August, 1561. British Museum, Titus, book xiii. 44, dorso. Keith, p. 178.

me when I came hither, yet you know, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I came hither safely ; and I may have as good means to help me home again as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends. Truly, I was so far from evil meaning to the queen your mistress, that at this time I was more willing to employ her amity to stand me in stead than all the friends I have ; and yet you know, both in this realm and elsewhere, I have both friends and allies, and such as would be glad and willing to employ their forces and aid to stand me in stead. You have oftentimes told me, that the amity between the queen your mistress and me was very necessary and profitable for us both ; and now I have some reason to think that the queen your mistress is not of that mind ; for I am sure, if she were, she would not have refused me thus unkindly. It seemeth she maketh more account of the amity of my disobedient subjects than she doth of me their sovereign, who am her equal in degree though inferior in wisdom and experience, her nighest kinswoman and her next neighbour * * *. Indeed," continued the queen, with great animation, "your mistress doth give me cause to seek friendship where I did not mind to ask it. But, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, let your mistress think that it will be deemed very strange amongst all princes and countries, that she should first animate my subjects against me, and now, being a widow, impeach my going into my own country. I ask of her nothing but friendship ; I do not trouble her state, nor practise with her subjects. And yet, I know there be in her realm some that be inclined enough to hear offers. I know also, they be not of the same mind she is of, neither in religion, nor in other things. The queen your mistress doth say that I am young, and do lack experience : but I have age enough and experience to

behave myself towards my friends and kinsfolks friendly and uprightly ; and I trust my discretion shall not so fail me, that my passion shall move me to use other language of her than is due to a queen and my next kinswoman."

Nothing could be more dignified, yet nothing more severe, than this remonstrance of Mary ; and the manner in which she glanced at the violence into which Elizabeth had been betrayed in her interview with D'Osell, could not fail to touch this proud princess to the quick. Throckmorton, in reply, excused the conduct of the English queen, and fell back upon the old topics of complaint, the assumption of the arms and title of England, and the delay to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. On both points Mary was prepared to answer him. " You know," said she, " that when I assumed the style and arms of England, I was under the commandment of King Henry my father, and of the king my lord and husband : whatsoever was then done, was their act, not mine ; and since their death, I have neither borne the arms, nor used the title of England." With regard to the treaty, upon which so much has been said, she contended, that without the advice of the council of her realm, it was impossible she could come to a decision on so grave a matter, which required the mature deliberation of the wisest amongst them. " This," said she, " I cannot have, until I return to my dominions ; I am about to haste me home, as fast as I may, to the intent the matters may be answered : and now the queen your mistress will in no wise suffer me neither to pass home, nor him that I sent into my realm ; so as, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, it seemeth the queen your mistress will be the cause why in this matter she is not satisfied, or else she will not be satisfied, but liketh to make

this matter a quarrel still betwixt us, whereof she is the author.”¹

On the 21st of July, Throckmorton took leave of Mary, regretting that the terms upon which she then stood with regard to the English queen, did not permit him to wait upon her at her embarkation. Her reply was affecting, and seemed almost to shadow forth her future fate. “If,” said she, “my preparations were not so much advanced as they are, peradventure the queen your mistress’s unkindness might stay my voyage; but now, I am determined to adventure the matter, whatsoever come of it. I trust the wind will be so favourable as I shall not need to come on the coast of England; and if I do, then, Monsieur l’Ambassadeur, the queen your mistress shall have me in her hands to do her will of me; and if she be so hard hearted as to desire my end, she may then do her pleasure, and make sacrifice of me: peradventure, that casualty might be better for me than to live: in this matter God’s will be fulfilled.”²

These melancholy forebodings were not, however, at this moment destined to be realized. Mary, having left Paris on the 21st of July, was accompanied as far as St Germain by the King of France, the queen-mother, the King of Navarre, and other persons of the first rank. Here, after a few days’ stay, she bade adieu to the royal family; and, attended by the Duke of Guise, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the Grand Prior, who was general of the French galleys, and other noble persons, she proceeded to Calais, where, after waiting some time for a fair wind, she embarked on the 14th of August.³ All that day she ceased not

¹ Keith, pp. 174, 175.

² Ibid p. 176.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Paris, 19th August, 1561, Throckmorton to the Council.

to direct her eyes toward the shore of France, until her view was intercepted by night. She then commanded a couch to be spread for her on deck, and gave injunctions that she should be awakened at sunrise if the land were still in view. It happened that there was a calm during the night, the ships made little way, and in the morning the French coast was still discernible.¹ The queen sat up in bed, and straining her eyes till the shore faded from her sight, pathetically bade adieu to the beautiful country where she had passed her happiest years. "Farewell, France," said she; "beloved France, I shall never see thee more!" Soon after this, a favourable wind sprung up, accompanied by a fog, under cover of which the queen's galleys escaped the English ships, and arrived in the port of Leith on the 19th of August, 1561. One vessel, however, in which was the Earl of Eglinton, was captured by Elizabeth's cruisers, and carried into port; but as soon as it was discovered that the young queen was not on board, the prize was released, and pursued her voyage into Scotland. The incident, however, demonstrated clearly the sinister intentions of the English queen.

¹ Brantome, vol. ii. p. 326.

CHAP. IV.

M A R Y.

1561—1565.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Pope.</i>
Elizabeth.	Charles IX.	Ferdinand. Maximilian.	Philip II.	Pius IV.

ON her arrival in her dominions, Mary was received with great joy by all classes of her subjects, and for a while those unhappy feelings which exasperated the various factions of the state against each other, were softened down and forgotten in the general enthusiasm.¹ She was conducted by her nobility with rude state from Leith to her palace of Holyrood. The pomp of the procession, if we may believe Brantome, an eye-witness, was far inferior to the brilliant pageants to which she had been accustomed. She could not repress a sigh when she beheld the sorry palfreys prepared for herself and her ladies ; and when awakened on the morning after her arrival, by the citizens singing psalms under her window, the unwonted strains seemed dissonant to courtly ears. But the welcome, though singular, was sincere ; the people were delighted with their young queen ; her extreme beauty, and the gracefulness of her manners, created a strong prepossession in her favour ; her subjects crowded round her

¹ Instructions to Lethington, sent Ambassador to England. Keith, p. 185.

with expressions of unfeigned devotedness, and for a time she believed that her forebodings of difficulties and distresses were unfounded.¹

Within a few days after her return, however, the celebration of mass in her private chapel occasioned a tumult, which was with difficulty appeased. Mary had stipulated for the free exercise of her own form of worship, and the Lord James, previous to his departure for France, maintained, in opposition to Knox and the strictest reformers, that this liberty could not possibly be denied to their sovereign. Here the matter rested till the queen's arrival; but the more intolerant of the Protestants had early made up their minds to resist by force every attempt to raise the "Idol," as they termed the mass, once more in the land. They drew no distinction between the idolatry of the Jews, which was punished by death, and the alleged idolatry of the adherents of the creed of Rome: both were in their eyes maintainers of the accursed thing which was hateful to God. It was even argued by Knox, that the Jews were more tolerable in their tenets than the Romish church: he would rather see, he said, ten thousand French soldiers landed in Scotland, than suffer a single mass. And when the Master of Lindsay, a furious zealot, heard that it was about to be celebrated, he buckled on his harness, assembled his followers, and rushing into the court of the palace, shouted aloud that the priests should die the death. The Lord James, however, opposed this violence, placed himself at the door of the chapel, overawed the multitude, and preserved the lives of the chaplains

¹ Brantome, vol. ii. pp. 123, 124. Mary arrived unexpectedly early in the morning of the 19th August; and the weather was so dark and stormy, that the ships were not seen for the fog. This circumstance must have interrupted the preparations.

who officiated, for which he was bitterly and ironically attacked by Knox.¹

The queen, although she claimed for herself the toleration which she extended to her subjects, was anxious to prevent any misconception of her intentions with regard to religion. It had been declared in council that no alterations should be made, and she now published a proclamation, in which she assured her subjects of her determination to maintain the Protestant form of worship, which she found established at her arrival, and added, that no one should be permitted, under pain of death, to attempt, either publicly or privately, any innovation upon the national faith.² Nor was this all: although Knox's sincere, but ill-advised zeal, had done much to excite her opposition, the queen, to the astonishment of her own party, desired to have an interview with the Reformer, who has himself left us an account of their conversation. She blamed him for the violence of his book against female government, and with a clearness and vigour of argument, for which he was probably not prepared, pointed out its evil consequences, in exciting subjects against their rulers. She then advised him to treat with greater charity those who differed from him in opinion. "If, madam," said he, "to rebuke idolatry, and to persuade the people to worship God according to his Word, be to raise subjects against their princes, I cannot stand excused, for so have I acted; but if the true knowledge of God and his right worshipping lead all good subjects (as they assuredly do) to obey the prince from their heart, then who can reprehend me?" As for his book, he allowed it was directed against female government, but excused

¹ Knox's History of the Reformation, p. 306.

² Knox, p. 307. Corroborated by a letter of Randolph's to Cecil, 3d June, 1563. Keith, p. 239.

its principles as being more matters of opinion than of conscience, and professed his willingness to live in all contentment under her majesty's government, as long as she kept her hands undefiled by the blood of the saints of God. He contended, that in religion, subjects were bound to follow, not the will of their prince, but the commands of their Creator. "If," said he, "all men in the days of the Apostles should have been compelled to follow the religion of the Roman emperors, where would have been the Christian faith? Daniel and his fellows were subjects to Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, and yet they refused to be of their religion."—"But," interrupted the queen, "these men did not resist." "And yet," replied Knox, "they who obey not the commandment, may virtually be said to resist."—"Nay," rejoined Mary, "they did not resist with the sword." "That," said Knox, "was simply because they had not the power."—"What," cried the queen, starting and speaking with great energy, "do you maintain that subjects, having power, may resist their princes?" "Most assuredly," continued the Reformer, "if princes exceed their bounds. God hath nowhere commanded higher reverence to be given to kings by their subjects, than to parents by their children; and yet, if a father or mother be struck with madness, and attempt to slay his children, they may lawfully bind and disarm him till the frenzy be overpast. It is even so, madam," continued this stern champion of resistance, fixing his eyes upon the young queen, and raising his voice to a tone which almost amounted to a menace, "it is even so with princes that would murder the children of God, who may be their subjects. Their blind zeal is nothing but a mad frenzy, and therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought

to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the Word of God.” At these words Mary stood for some time silent and amazed; she was terrified by the violence with which they were uttered. She thought of her own youth and weakness, of the fierce zealots by whom she was surrounded; her mind pictured to itself, in gloomy anticipation, the struggles which awaited her, and she burst into tears. On being comforted and soothed by Moray, who alone was present at the interview, she at length collected herself, and said, turning to Knox, “ Well, then, I perceive that my subjects shall only obey you, and not me; they must do what they list, not what I command; whilst I must learn to be subject unto them, and not they to me.”—“ God forbid,” said the Reformer, “ that it should ever be so; far be it from me to command any, or to absolve subjects from their lawful obedience. My only desire is, that both princes and subjects should obey God, who has in his Word enjoined kings to be nursing fathers and queens nursing mothers to his church.”—“ Yea,” quoth Mary, “ this is indeed true; but yours is not the church that I will nourish. I will defend the church of Rome, for I think it the true church of God.” At this strong assertion of her belief, the indignation of Knox flamed fierce and high. “ Your will,” said he, “ madam, is no reason; neither doth your thought make that Roman harlot to be the immaculate spouse of Christ. And wonder not, madam, that I call Rome an harlot, for that church is altogether polluted with every kind of spiritual abomination, as well in doctrine as in manners. Yea, madam, I offer myself to prove, that the church of the Jews who crucified Jesus Christ, when they manifestly denied the Son of God, was not so far degenerated from the

ordinances and statutes which God gave by Moses and Aaron unto his people, as the church of Rome is declined, and for more than five hundred years hath declined, from that purity of religion which the apostles taught and planted."—"My conscience," said Mary, "is not so." "Conscience," said Knox, "requires knowledge; and I fear of right knowledge you have but little." After some further exhortations, the Reformer exposed the idolatry of the mass, and threw down his defiance to the most learned Papists in Europe, declaring his earnest wish that he might have an opportunity of engaging with them in controversy before the queen herself. "In that wish," said Mary, "you may, perhaps, be indulged sooner than you expect." She was then called to dinner; and Knox, on taking his leave, prayed that she might be blessed in the commonwealth of Scotland, as richly as ever was Deborah in the commonwealth of Israel.¹

I have given this interview at some length, and almost in the words of the Reformer, because in the determined and sincere resolution of the queen, that she would support the ancient faith and church of her fathers, and in the conscientious and violent declaration of Knox, that all such efforts would be met by open resistance, (as far as he had influence,) the causes of the collision which was about to take place are clearly brought out. Alluding to the conferences between Mary and Knox, Lethington, in a letter to Cecil, did justice to the gentleness of the queen, and contrasted it with the harshness of her opponent. "You know," said he, "the vehemency of Mr Knox's spirit, which cannot be bridled, and yet doth sometimes utter such sentences as cannot easily be digested by a weak

¹ Knox, History, pp. 311-315, inclusive.

stomach. I could wish he would deal with her more gently, being a young princess unpersuaded. For this I am accounted too politic; but surely in her comporting with him she doth declare a wisdom far exceeding her age. God grant her the assistance of his Spirit: surely I see in her a good towardness, and think that the queen your sovereign shall be able to do much with her in religion, if they once enter into a good familiarity.”¹ That they might enter into this familiarity, was now the great object of Mary and her ministers. Elizabeth had congratulated her on her happy return to her dominions, and she soon after (1st September, 1561) despatched Lethington, her chief secretary, on a mission to England, to express her earnest wishes for the continuance of peace.²

Not long after, she took a triumphant progress from her palace to the castle of Edinburgh. Five black slaves, magnificently apparelled, received her at the west gate of the city;³ twelve of the chief citizens bore a canopy, under which she rode in state; and a public banquet was given to the queen and the noble strangers by whom she was accompanied. The pageants exhibited on this occasion marked, indeed, the character of the times. An interlude was performed, in which Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, were destroyed as they offered strange fire upon the altar; and it required the interference of Huntley to prevent an indecent parody of the mass, in which the effigy of a priest was to have been burnt as he elevated the host. To the zealous burghers these dramas contained a wholesome signification of God’s vengeance against idolaters; to others,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, Oct. 25, 1561.

² Keith, p. 185. Stevenson’s Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary, p. 90, Mary to Elizabeth, Sept. 1561.

³ Keith, p. 189.

as sincere but less fanatical, they appeared unwise incitements to persecution ; by those against whom they were directed, although not unnoticed, they were passed over in silence.¹

It was the anxious desire of the queen to give her kingdom time to recover the effects of the war and anarchy to which it had been so long exposed. She had determined, before leaving France, to make every sacrifice to conciliate Elizabeth ; nor was this resolution adopted without a great end in view. Her title to the throne of England was still present to her mind. Her claim to the crown, and her assumption of the arms of this kingdom, had, as we have seen, been injudiciously published by her uncles, when she was still Queen of France. Mary had, indeed, apologized for such conduct, and transferred the blame of so strange and premature a measure to her advisers, the Guises ; but it was still her earnest desire to have her title to the crown of England recognised by that princess, should she persevere in her vows of celibacy ; and, as the surest means to obtain this object, she committed the chief management of her affairs to Moray and Lethington, the great leaders of the Protestant party. Lethington had proposed this scheme to Cecil soon after the death of the French king, and when, anticipating the return of Mary to her dominions, he felt all the peril of his own situation : should he be able to carry this point for the Scottish queen, he knew he was safe ; if he failed—if she broke with Elizabeth, and threw herself into the interest of France—he looked upon it as certain ruin. “ I made you,” says he, in a letter to Cecil, “ some overture at London, how to salve all matters. I wrote to you more amply in it

¹ Keith, p. 189.

from Sir Ralph Sadler's house. I would be glad to understand what you think in it, or how the queen's majesty can like of it, and how it shall be followed. I know the queen my sovereign is so informed against me, that unless I be able to do her some service, I cannot long be suffered to live in her realm; and I will never press to continue in service longer than the amity betwixt both realms shall continue."¹ Lethington was no doubt perfectly sincere in his desire to carry this point in favour of his mistress; and it is remarkable, that about six months after he had written to Cecil, and shortly previous to Mary's arrival in Scotland, the Lord James had addressed a letter to the Queen of England on the same delicate subject. In this epistle, which is ably and powerfully written, he congratulated this princess that the ancient enmity between the two nations had been miraculously converted into reciprocal attachment, and expressed his earnest desire, that the members being thus amicably disposed, the heads (meaning Elizabeth and Mary) should be as heartily joined in love. "You are tender cousins," said he; "both queens, in the flower of your ages, much resembling each other in excellent and goodly qualities, on whom God hath bestowed most liberally the gifts of nature and of fortune, whose sex will not permit that you should advance your glory by wars and bloodshed, but that the chief glory of both should stand in a peaceable reign." The only point which had occasioned dissension between them was, he goes on to observe, the premature discussion of his mistress's title. "I wish to God," said he, "my sovereign lady had never, by any advice, taken in head to pretend interest, or claim any title to your

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, 6th February, 1560-1.

majesty's realm, for then I am fully persuaded you should have been and continued as dear friends as you be tender cousins; but now, since on her part something hath been thought of it, and first motioned when the two realms were in war together, your majesty knoweth, I fear, that unless that root may be removed, it shall ever breed unkindness between you. Your majesty cannot yield; and she may on the other part think it hard, being so nigh of the blood of England, so to be made a stranger from it." The Lord James then ventures on the dangerous ground of the succession. "If," says he, "any midway could be picked out to remove this difference to both your contentments, then it is like we should have a perpetual quietness. I have long thought of it, and never durst communicate it to the queen my sovereign, nor many of my countrymen, nor yet will hereafter follow it farther than shall seem good to your majesty. The matter is higher than my capacity is able to compass, yet upon my simple overture your highness can lay a larger foundation. What inconvenience were it, if your majesty's title did remain untouched, as well for yourself as the issue of your body, to provide, that to the queen my sovereign, her own place were reserved in the succession to the crown of England, which your majesty will pardon me if I take to be next, by the law of all nations, as she that is next in lawful descent of the right line of King Henry the Seventh, your grandfather; and in the meantime this isle to be united in a perpetual friendship? The succession of realms cometh by God's appointment, according to his good pleasure, and no provision of man can alter that which he hath determined, but it must needs come to pass; yet is there appearance, that without injury of any party, this accord might breed us great quietness.

Every thing must have some beginning. If I may receive answer from your majesty, that you will allow of any such agreement, I will travel with the queen my sovereign, to do what I can to bring her to some conformity. If your majesty dislike it, I will not farther meddle therewith.”¹

This sensible letter its author enclosed to Cecil, directing him to advise on it, and present it, or withdraw it, as he judged best. Whether it ever reached the queen’s eye is uncertain ; and as the Scottish baron had fearlessly ventured on ground which the more wary Cecil scarcely dared to tread, it is probable he did not risk its delivery ; but it proves that the Lord James was sincerely attached on this subject to the interests of his sister the queen. It is worthy of remark, also, that in this grand design we are furnished with the key to the policy adopted by Mary during the first years of her government. Thus, the same reasons which induced her to favour the Protestants, led her to depress the Romanist party, at the head of whom was Huntley, one of the most powerful, crafty, and unscrupulous men in the country, against whom the Lord James placed himself in mortal opposition.²

It was not to be expected that the bishops and the Catholic peers should bear this with equanimity : they had suffered severely in the cause of the queen ; they naturally looked to her return as the season when their fidelity was to be rewarded ; and their feelings were proportionally bitter when they found themselves

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Edinburgh, 6th August, 1561, the Lord James to Queen Elizabeth.

² Soon after the queen’s arrival, Randolph informed Cecil that Huntley and this potent baron greatly discorded. Some alleged that the cause of the quarrel was a boast of Huntley, that if the queen commanded him, he could set up the mass in three shires ; to which the other answered, that it was past his power to do so, and so he should find the first moment he attempted it. Keith, p. 190.

treated with neglect, and saw those who had been lately stigmatized as traitors, advanced to the chief offices in the state.¹ They accordingly recommenced their intrigues with the Guises; but these crafty diplomats would not commit themselves too deeply: it was their present policy to temporize. In an overture to Throckmorton the English ambassador, the Duke of Guise repeated the proposal of the Lord James, that Elizabeth should declare Mary her successor.² It was their object at the same time to procure the renewal of the league with France, and the co-operation of the queen their niece in their vast and unprincipled schemes; and if they failed—if Mary declined their great offers, and refused to “hang her keys at their girdle,” they had resolved to form a faction against her, at the head of which should be Chastelherault, Arran, Huntley, and Hume.³

Without appearing to notice the plots of the Romanists with France, Mary steadily followed out her design of conciliating the Protestants, and obtaining the friendship of England. She appointed a council of twelve, of whom seven were reformers,⁴ and she continued to follow the advice of her brother, the Lord James, on all important subjects, and sent him at the head of a large force, and armed with almost absolute power, to reduce the borders to obedience.⁵

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, 15th January, 1561-2. “I thank you for your good advice towards our Papists, which hath been as yet mostly followed, and I trust since the queen's arrival they have obtained no great advantage, but, to be plain with you, be in worse case a great deal than before.”

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 8th October, 1561.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 13th December, 1561. *Ibid.* same to Cecil, 5th December, 1561.

⁴ Spottiswood, p. 179.

⁵ Nov. 8, 1561. MS. letter, Lord James to Cecil, State-paper Office.

To Randolph, whom Elizabeth appointed her resident at the Scottish court, she behaved with the utmost courtesy ; and a correspondence by letters was begun between the princesses, in which all was peace, amity, and playful affection. In his mission to the English court, Lethington urged upon Elizabeth the necessity of declaring Mary her successor. His public instructions, indeed, did not authorize him to enter upon this delicate subject, which has led Keith to question, whether it was now broached at all ; but we know from Throckmorton's letters, not only that the proposal was made, but that Cecil was much embarrassed by it. “ For the matter,” says he, “ lately proposed to her majesty by the Laird of Ledington, in which to deal one way or other you find difficulties, even so do I think, that not to deal in it at all, no manner of way, is more dangerous ; as well for the queen's majesty, as for the realm, and specially if God should deal so unmercifully with us, as to take the queen from us without issue; which God forbid, considering the terms the state standeth in presently.”¹ For the moment Elizabeth evaded the point by despatching Sir Peter Mewtas to Scotland, with a request that Mary should confirm the treaty of Edinburgh, a proposal which she well knew the Scottish queen must decline.²

Meanwhile, the Lord James exhibited an example of prompt and severe justice upon the borders. Proceeding to Jedburgh and Dumfries, with an army which rendered opposition useless, he pursued the thieves into their strongholds, razed their towers to the ground, hanged twenty of the most notorious offenders, sent fifty more in chains to Edinburgh, and in a meeting

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Throckmorton to Cecil, 9th October, 1561.

² Treasurer's Accounts, October 19, 1561. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 935.

with the English wardens, Lord Grey and Sir John Foster, restored order and good government to the marches.¹

During his absence, the Romish clergy resorted to court, but found a colder reception than they anticipated ; and although Mons. de Moret, who had been sent from the Duke of Savoy, endeavoured to influence the queen in favour of the Romanists, his power was either very slight,² or it suited the tortuous politics of the Guises to encourage at this moment the amity between Mary and Elizabeth. In speaking of an intended interview between the princesses, the proposal of which had come from Mary, Lethington assured Cecil, that France earnestly desired it ;³ and so far did they carry this real or pretended feeling, that it was affirmed by the Lord St Colm, lately arrived from that country, that the Cardinal of Lorraine, in his anxiety to promote the amity between the kingdoms, and to secure to his niece the succession to the English throne, had persuaded her to become a Protestant.⁴ To these feelings it is probable we are to ascribe the severe measures against the Roman Catholic clergy, which were adopted at this time in the General Assembly of the church held in the capital. As the subject is important, it is necessary to treat it with some detail.

Notwithstanding the full establishment of the Reformation, the Protestant ministers were in a state of extreme poverty, and dependent upon the precarious assistance of their flocks ; whilst the revenues of the church were divided between the nobles, who had

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lord James to Cecil, 8th Nov. 1561. Maitland, vol. ii. p. 936 ; also, Randolph to Cecil, 7th Dec. 1561. Keith, p. 205.

² Randolph to Cecil, 17th Dec. 1561. Keith, p. 209.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, Jan. 29, 1561-2.

⁴ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Jan. 30, 1561-2.

appropriated them, and the Romish prelates, who still retained part of their ancient wealth. On the meeting of the General Assembly, the ministers determined to use their most strenuous efforts to procure some support out of the ecclesiastical revenues; yet the attempt was resisted by many of the barons, who had been zealous supporters of the Reformation, but loved its plunder better than its principles. The rulers of the court began, as Knox says, to draw themselves apart from the society of their brethren, and to fret and grudge.¹ Lethington, learned, acute, and worldly, openly scoffed; and Knox, who dreaded his powers of argument as much as he suspected his sincerity, attacked him with bitterness. Wood, too, the secretary of the Lord James, the chief adviser of the queen, joined the opponents of the ministers; it was even debated, whether the General Assembly, being held without the presence or authority of the queen, was a lawful or constitutional convention. The barons, who had been accustomed to take a part in its proceedings, separated from their brethren; and although, after a violent discussion, they reluctantly concurred in its legality, yet they steadily refused to pass the Book of Discipline, and thwarted, though they did not openly oppose, the measures for the provision of the clergy. After some consultation, however, an act was passed, ordaining the annual revenues of the whole benefices in the realm to be calculated, and out of this gross sum, the Catholic clergy consented to give a third to the queen, being permitted to retain two-thirds for themselves. This third was to be applied to the maintenance of preachers, the endowment of schools, the support of the poor, and the increase of the revenue of the crown.²

¹ Knox, p. 318.

² Knox, pp. 321-324, inclusive.

Before this proposal was made, the funds of the church, previously immense, had been greatly dilapidated. On the overthrow of Popery, the bishops and other dignified clergy had entered into transactions with their friends or kinsmen, by which large portions of ecclesiastical property passed into private hands; in some cases, sales had been made by the ancient incumbents, or leases had been purchased by strangers, which the pope, zealous to protect his persecuted children, had confirmed; the crown, too, had appointed laymen to be factors or administrators of bishopricks and livings: so that, by these various methods, the property of the church was so much diffused and curtailed, that the third of all the money collected fell far below the sum necessary to give an adequate support to the clergy. There was much fraud also practised in making up the returns. Many of the Catholic clergy evaded the production of their rentals, some gave in false estimates; and although the persons appointed to fix the rate of provision had been the firm supporters of the Reformation, though the Lord James and Maitland of Lethington, with Argyle and Morton, superintended every step, the result disappointed the expectations of the ministers. It was asserted, that the only effect of the change was, to secure a large share for the lay proprietors of church lands, to transfer a considerable portion to the crown, and to leave a wretched pittance for the ministers. Yet, when fairly viewed, the change was certainly creditable to the queen, and involved a concession which ought to have been considered valuable and important. It was a legal recognition of the right of the Presbyterian ministers to be supported by the state, and ought to have convinced all gainsayers that Mary, though she insisted on her private mass, considered the reformed religion as the established

faith of the country. This was no little matter; yet no party was pleased. Knox and the ministers were discontented, not only that they received so little, but because in the same assembly the mass was permitted, and the Book of Discipline refused: the Roman Catholic party were still louder in their complaints, and declared, that nothing now was wanting, but an interview between Mary and Elizabeth, to the utter overthrow of the ancient faith. Cecil, whilst he rejoiced that the bishops were spoiled, lamented that their riches should, even in part, have fallen to the crown; and the satirical vein of Randolph ascribed all to the worst motives. “Where your honour,” says he, addressing Cecil, “liketh better the diminution of the bishops and other livings, than the augmentation of the crown therewith, what can I better say than that which I find written, ‘Merx meritricis, et ad meretrices reversa est.’ I find it neither done for zeal to Christ’s religion, nor hatred to the viciousness of their lives that had it. If she did it for need, they themselves, to have enjoyed the whole, offered much more. I find not also, that all other men, besides the queen, are pleased with this: the duke beginneth now to grieve—he must depart from seven parts of Arbroath; the Bishop of St Andrews from as much of his livings; the Lord Claud, the duke’s son, in England, future successor to Paisley, also the seventh: the Abbot of Kilwinning, as much, besides divers others of that race; so that many a Hamilton shall shortly be turned a-begging. * * I know not whether this be able to make the duke a Papist again; for now ‘Conferunt consilia,’ the bishop and he.”¹

Cecil had earnestly advised Lethington to encourage

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Jan. 15, 1561-2.

a meeting between the two queens;¹ and although the Scottish secretary felt the danger of negotiating in such a case, observing, that if any thing should frame amiss, it would be his utter ruin,² the ardent feelings of Mary relieved him of the difficulty, by herself proposing the interview in a letter which she addressed to Elizabeth.³ France, also, and the cardinal her uncle, encouraged the overture; and even Randolph, whose judgment, when in favour of Mary, none can suspect of bias, expressed his opinion of the sincerity, upright dealing, and affection of that princess.⁴ Early in the spring (23d May 1562) her anxiety upon this subject induced her to despatch Secretary Lethington to the English court, that he might arrange the preliminaries; and the Lord James, her chief minister, who had lately, upon the occasion of his marriage, received from the queen the earldom of Mar, requested leave, when the meeting took place, to bring Christopher Goodman along with him, as the minister of the Protestants, describing him as the most temperate and modest of the learned;⁵ and Randolph, in a letter to Elizabeth, alluded in emphatic terms to the anxiety for the interview expressed by the more wise and moderate amongst the Protestants, and the happy effects they anticipated from it. “The hope,” said he, “which they have, that your majesty shall be the instrument to convert their sovereign to Christ, and the knowledge of his true word, causeth them to wish, above measure, that your majesties may see the one the other.”⁶

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Jan. 15, 1561-2.

² Ibid.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, Jan. 29, 1561-2.

⁴ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Jan. 30, 1561-2.

⁵ Ibid. May 26, 1562.

⁶ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Scots Correspondence, Randolph to the Queen, 26th May, 1562.

It is a mortifying but an instructive fact that Knox, and the more violent portion of the reformers, in a conscientious but narrow spirit opposed the meeting with bitterness, and attacked it in the pulpit. They regarded the Prelacy of England as little better than the Popery of Rome, and preferred that their queen should remain an obstinate Papist, rather than take refuge in a religion which had as little ground in the Word of God. "Our Papists," said Randolph, addressing Cecil, "greatly mistrust the meeting; our Protestants as greatly desire it; our preachers, to be plain with your honour, at one word, be more vehement than discreet or learned, which I heartily lament. The little bruit that hath been here of late, that this queen is advised by the cardinal to embrace the religion of England, maketh them now almost wild, of the which they both say and preach, that it is little better than when it was at the worst: I have not so amply conferred with Mr Knox in these matters as shortly I must, who upon Sunday last gave the cross and the candle such a wipe, that as wise and learned as himself wished him to have held his peace. He recompensed the same with a marvellous vehement and piercing prayer, in the end of his sermon, for the continuance of amity and hearty love with England."¹

In the midst of these negotiations and heartburnings, the Earl of Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Chastelherault, went suddenly mad; and in his frenzy accused himself, his father, and the Earl of Bothwell, of a conspiracy to seize the person of the queen, murder

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 12th February, 1561-2. It was matter of great regret to the more rigid Protestants in England, that Elizabeth (whose predilection for the ceremonial part of the Romish religion was well known) always kept candles burning on the altar, in her private chapel; Knox's attack was against these.

the Lord James (Earl of Mar,) and possess themselves of the government.¹ The violence of this unhappy nobleman, and the deep mortification with which he beheld the chief power intrusted to the Lord James, had already occasioned much disquiet to the queen, and it was reported shortly after her arrival from France, that he meant to attack the palace and carry her off. This disposed people to give some credit to the present conspiracy. It was observed that Arran showed no symptoms of insanity when he first discovered the enterprise; and the profligate character of Bothwell confirmed their belief. It was he, as Arran insisted, that had invented the whole plot; which, being imparted to him secretly, he agreed to join in the enterprise, and revealed it to his father the duke, trusting to have him for an accomplice. At first he explained the intention of the conspirators with great clearness, but soon after his disclosures exhibited signs of derangement: he began to talk of devils and enchantments; affirmed that he had been bewitched by the mother of the Lord James, whom he spoke of as a noted sorceress; retracted much of his former story, and became so incoherent, that, for security rather than punishment, he was committed to ward in the castle.²

His alleged accomplices, Bothwell and the Abbot of Kilwinning, were imprisoned, some things appearing suspicious in their conduct: but to the aged duke, who protested his innocence, and with tears bewailed the ruin of his house, Mary behaved with great tenderness: a passage from a letter of Randolph to Elizabeth is important in the picture it gives of her gentleness, justice,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, March 31, 1562.

² Ibid. 7th April, 1562. Same to same, 9th April, 1562.

and impartiality, upon this trying occasion. The English queen and Cecil, who knew well the violence with which Arran had opposed himself to the queen, imagined that Mary, in her resentment, might be ready to believe any thing against him. Randolph, however, completely refutes this unworthy notion. "For the likelihood," says he, "that the queen is not moved with any evil mind towards the duke or his, besides that which I have heard her grace say, I will only declare unto your majesty that which I myself (having many times had suspicion thereof) have observed and marked. I never saw yet, since her grace's arrival, but she sought more means to win the Duke of Chastelherault's good will, and my Lord of Arran's, than ever they had will to acknowledge their duties as subjects unto their sovereign. She knoweth herself in what place God hath appointed them, and that he is the revenger of all injustice. To separate them from her, being her subjects, there is no cause but disobedience and transgression of her laws. She is not ignorant also of the affection of many in this realm towards that house, how many they are, and how they are allied, wherein to attempt any thing against them unjustly, or that should not be manifest unto the world what their fault were, it should be her own ruin. These things, an't like your majesty, are no small stays to the appetite of man's will, and much more unto hers, being a woman, lately returned into a country where never yet such obedience hath been given unto the prince or princess, as is due unto them. In token also that no such thing was meant of her part, it appeared in nothing more than in the usage of his father, of himself, and their friends, with all gentleness, the more to let them know, and the world judge, that she did love them as her kinsmen, esteemed them as her successors, (if God gave her no issue,) and favoured

them as her subjects, if their doings do not merit the contrary. Unto the one, not long since, she promised a reasonable support towards his living, for the time of his father's life; and remitted unto the other many things that, both by law and conscience, he was in danger for both body and goods. After the detection of this crime, the queen's grace so well conceived of my Lord of Arran, and judged so well of his sincere meaning towards her, that she devised with her council what yearly sum, either of money or other thing, she might bestow upon him. What grief this is unto her heart, it hath appeared in many ways, and she hath wished that it could be known unto your majesty, without whose advice, I believe, she will not hastily determine any thing against either the one or the other. Of these things," concludes Randolph, "because the whole country doth bear witness, my testimony needeth the less."¹

Every thing, indeed, at this time, in the conduct of the Scottish queen, evinced her sincere attachment to England, and her desire, not only to suppress every intrigue which might disturb the tranquillity of her own kingdom, but where these plots originated, as they sometimes did, with the English Papists, to assist Elizabeth in their detection and punishment. This was clearly shown at the present moment; for the English queen, having discovered some suspicious intercourse between the Earl of Lennox and the Romish faction, believed it to be a plot for the marriage of the Scottish queen with Lord Darnley; and suddenly committed Lennox, and his Countess lady Margaret, the niece of Henry the Eighth, to the Tower. On being informed of it, Mary approved of the severity, derided

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Elizabeth, 9th April, 1562

the practices of Lennox, and declared her resolution never to unite herself with any of that race.¹ About the same time, the Bishop of St Andrews and the Earl of Eglinton, having disobeyed the laws regarding the re-establishment of the mass, a royal proclamation was set forth, denouncing death against all who bore a part in this idolatrous solemnity, or countenanced it by their presence,² reserving only the queen's mass in her palace.

To the Lord James her brother, of whose warm attachment to the English interest we have already met with many proofs, the Scottish queen extended so much favour, that his influence became the chief channel to success at court. On his marriage to the daughter of the Earl Marshal, she created him Earl of Mar, and gave a banquet, the splendour of which, with the pageants and masking, called forth the reproof of the more zealous part of the ministers.³ "At this notable marriage," says Randolph to Cecil, "one thing there was which I must testify with my own hand, which is, that upon Shrove Tuesday, at night, sitting among the lords at supper in sight of the queen, and placed for that purpose, she drank unto the queen's majesty, and sent me the cup of gold, which weigheth eighteen or twenty ounces. After supper, in giving her majesty thanks, she uttered, in many affectionate words, her desire of amity and perpetual kindness with the queen, and returned and talked long with me thereof, in the hearing of the duke and the Earl of Huntley."⁴

During the absence of Lethington at the English court, the tumults upon the borders again demanded

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 31st March, 1562.

² Ibid. 3d June, 1562.

³ Knox, p. 327.

⁴ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 12th February, 1561-2.

the prompt interference of the government. Murder, robbery, and offences of all kinds, prevailed to an intolerable degree ; and men who had been publicly outlawed, walked abroad, deriding the terrors of justice. Of these crimes, the great centre was Hawick ; and the queen, who was determined to make an example, armed the Earl of Mar with full powers against the offenders. Nor was his success less than on his former expedition. Making a sudden and rapid march, he encompassed the town with his soldiers, entered the market-place, and by proclamation forbade any citizen, on pain of death, to receive or shelter a thief. Fifty-three of the most noted outlaws were apprehended ; of these, eighteen were instantly drowned, "for lack of trees and halters." Six were hanged at Edinburgh, and the rest either acquitted or imprisoned in the castle. By this memorable example of severity, the disturbed districts were reduced to sudden and extraordinary quietness, whilst the courage and success of Mar contributed to raise him still higher than before in the favour of his sovereign.¹

Mary had already declined many royal offers of marriage; and aware that any alliance which she made must be an object of deep and jealous interest to Elizabeth, she was anxious to have the approval and advice of that princess. It was this feeling, probably, which induced her to receive with caution, though with her accustomed courtesy, the ambassador of the King of Sweden, who, about this time, (3d June, 1562,) arrived on a matrimonial mission in Scotland. He brought with him a whole-length portrait of his master, which he delivered to one of the Marys,² to be presented to the queen, who hung it up in her private cabinet, and dismissed him with letters and a safe-

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 8th July, 1562.

² *Supra*, vol. iv. p. 418.

conduct for the Swedish monarch and his navy to land within any port of her realm which they might find most convenient.¹ This prince had already made proposals to Elizabeth, which were coldly received ; but Mary was aware of the jealousy of her nature, and the danger of appearing to interfere with her admirers, and she now looked anxiously for the return of Lethington.

At length this minister arrived with the welcome intelligence that the English queen had consented to the interview. She sent her picture, with many expressions of affection to the queen, and zeal for the continued amity between the kingdoms. Mary instantly commenced preparations for her journey. “ This present day,” says Randolph, “ she hath directed her letters again to all the noblemen of her realm, to be with all convenient speed with her at Edinburgh, and for this cause departeth herself hitherward to-morrow, as the most convenient place to take resolution in all things she hath to do. It pleased her grace immediately after she had conferred with the Lord of Lethington, and had received my sovereign’s picture, to send for me. After she had rehearsed many such purposes, as by the Lord of Lethington’s report unto her grace had been spoken of her by my sovereign, touching her sisterly affection towards her, her good will and earnest desire to continue in peace and amity, and, in special, that they might see each other, she sheweth unto me my said sovereign’s picture, and asketh me how like that was unto her lively face ? I answered unto her, that I trusted that her grace should shortly be judge thereof herself, and find much more perfection than could be set forth by the art of man.—That, (saith she,) is the thing that I have most desired, ever since

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 3d June, 1562.

I was in hope thereof, and she shall well assure herself there shall be no stay in me, though it were to take any pains, or to do more than I may well say : and I trust by that time that we have spoken together, our hearts will be so eased, that the greatest grief that ever after shall be between us, will be when we shall take leave the one of the other. And let God be my witness, I honour her in my heart, and love her as my dear and natural sister. Let me be believed of you, that I do not feign. * * Since, therefore," concludes Randolph, "the princesses' hearts are so wedded together, as divers ways it is manifest that they are—seeing the purpose is so godly, without other respect but to live in love—I doubt not but how much soever the world rage thereat, the greater will be the glory unto them both, and the success of the enterprise the happier. To resolve, therefore, with your honour herein, I find in this queen so much good will as can be possible ; in many of her subjects no less desire than in herself ; the rest not such that any such account is to be made of, that either they can hinder the purpose, or do great good, whatsoever they become."¹

All things being thus in readiness for the interview, and Mary looking forward to it with the ardent and sanguine feelings which belonged to her character, an unexpected obstacle arose from the quarter of France. In that country, the religious and political struggle between the Catholic party and the Protestants suddenly assumed a more fierce and sanguinary aspect ; and the Queen of England, who steadily supported Coligny and the Protestants, resolved to remain for the whole summer at home, to watch the proceedings of

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 15th July, 1562.

the league which France, Spain, Savoy, and Rome, had organized against the common cause of the Reformation. It may, indeed, be doubted, whether Elizabeth was ever sincere in her wish to have a meeting with Mary ; it is at least certain that she readily seized this cause of delay, and in July despatched Sir Henry Sidney into Scotland to defer the interview of the two queens till the ensuing summer. Mary received Sidney with expressions of unfeigned disappointment and sorrow. She listened to his embassy, as he himself reports, “with watery eyes;” and Mar and Lethington assured him, that had she not already found a vent for her passionate grief in her private chamber, the expression of it would have been still more violent.¹ It is evident that her heart was intent upon this object, and the delay may have caused a painful suspicion of the sincerity of the English queen, for whose sake she had already made no inconsiderable sacrifices. Yet the message of Elizabeth was warm and cordial. She assured Mary, that to have seen her dear sister that summer was her earnest desire ; that she now delayed the meeting with the utmost reluctance, and had so fully determined to enjoy her company in the spring, that she had sent by Sidney her confirmation of the treaty for the interview, leaving it to her to fix upon any days between the 20th of May and the last of August.² Mary was reassured, and would instantly have accepted the treaty and named the day of meeting ; but most of her council being absent, Lethington thought it prudent to delay, and promised within a month to send her final resolution.³

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Sidney to Cecil, 25th July, 1562, Edinburgh.

² Instructions to Sir H. Sidney. Haynes, p. 392.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, 29th July, 1562.

The queen, relieved from this anxiety, now resolved to visit the northern parts of her dominions ; and, following her own inclination rather than the advice of her council,¹ made preparations for her progress as far as Inverness ; but before she set out, a Jesuit arrived in Scotland with a secret message from the pope. So violent at this time was the feeling of the common people against any intercourse with Rome, that Mary did not dare to receive him openly ; but whilst the Protestant nobles were at the sermon, Lethington conveyed him by stealth into the queen's closet. The preacher, however, was more brief than usual in his discourse, and the Earl of Mar coming suddenly into the antechamber, had nearly discovered the interview ; so that the papal envoy was smuggled away by the Marys with much speed and alarm, yet not before Randolph had caught a glimpse of "a strange visage," which filled him full of suspicion. The effect of his legation, says this ambassador, was to know whether she could send unto the general council, (he means the Council of Trent, then sitting,) and he was directed to use his influence to keep her steadfast in her religion ; so, at least, the secretary assured him ; but he believed there was more under this commission than he or Lethington was permitted to see.² The messenger, who was a bishop, narrowly escaped ; for no sooner was it known that a papal emissary had dared to set his foot in Scotland, than his death was resolved on ; and nothing saved him but the peremptory remonstrance of Mar.³

Mary now set out on her progress northward, accompanied by most of her principal nobles. At Aberdeen

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 10th August, 1562.

² Ibid. 1st August, 1562.

³ Ibid.

she was met by the Earl of Huntley, the head of the Romish party and the great rival of Mar. This nobleman was nearly allied to the Duke of Chastelherault, by the marriage of his eldest son, Lord Gordon, to the daughter of Hamilton; and both Huntley and the duke, although separated by difference of religious faith, were jealous of the power of Mar, and enemies to the strict amity with England. Huntley, indeed, had felt keenly the neglect and want of confidence with which he had been treated by the queen. She had received with coldness the advances made by him and his party immediately after the death of her husband; his offer to re-establish the ancient religion on her arrival in her dominions had been repelled; although he held the high office of chancellor, and sat in the privy council, his influence was merely nominal; and, which cut deeper than all, he discovered that Mar intended to possess himself of the earldom of Moray, an extensive and opulent "*appanage*," of which he, for some years back, had enjoyed the revenues and wielded the power. Shortly before this, one of his sons, Sir John Gordon, having a private feud with Lord Ogilvy, had attacked and desperately wounded this nobleman in the streets of the capital. The assailant being seized and imprisoned, broke from his confinement and fled to his estates. Mary was exasperated; but the eloquence of the countess his mother assuaged her resentment, and brought her son to reason. The offender appeared before his sovereign, and was ordered to ward in the castle of Stirling. When on his road thither, he again repented of his submission, escaped from his guards, and gathering a thousand horsemen, bade defiance to the royal power. Such was the state of things when Huntley heard of the queen's resolution to visit his country,

accompanied by Mar and her principal nobility. He had long envied the influence of that earl with the queen ; and being strong in friends, and possessed of almost sovereign authority in those northern districts, he seems to have had the temerity to believe that the moment had arrived when a revolution might be accomplished, which would rid him of his rival, and place in his hands the chief power of the government. But Mary suspected his practices and dreaded his ambition. On being pressed by him to visit his house at Strathbogie, of which the magnificence rivalled her own palaces, she declined paying that honour to the father of a rebel ; and pushing forward to the castle of Inverness, where it was her intention to remain for some time, she found its gates insolently shut against her. On the place being summoned, it was answered by the captain, a retainer of Huntley's, that without the orders of Lord Gordon, for whom he held it, the castle should not be given up. This was open rebellion ; and Mary, having raised the force of the country, prepared to carry the place by assault. On this occasion the queen evinced something of the warlike spirit of her ancestors. Instead of lamenting that she had engaged in a journey so full of peril, “she repented she was not a man, to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or walk the rounds with a jack and knapskull.”¹ Her military aspirations, however, were not gratified by an actual siege : the captain, having surrendered, was hanged ; and Mary, although informed that Huntley watched to intercept her in the woods on the banks of the Spey, advanced against him, crossed the river without seeing an enemy, and returned at the head of three thousand men to Aberdeen. There was a romance

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Sept. 18, 1562.

and danger about the expedition which pleased the queen, and awakened some knightly enthusiasm in Randolph the English envoy, who accompanied her. “What desperate blows,” says he, in his letter to Cecil, “would that day have been given—when every man should have fought in sight of so noble a queen, and so many fair ladies, our enemies to have taken them from us, and we to save our honours and not to be bereft of them—your honour may easily imagine.”¹

Huntley seems to have overrated his strength, but it was now too late to recede; and his animosity was stimulated to the highest pitch, by Mary rewarding Mar, on her return to Aberdeen, with the prize he had long coveted, the earldom of Moray. He persuaded himself that nothing short of his ruin was contemplated; and having made a last and ineffectual attempt to mollify the royal resentment, he fortified his castles of Findlater, Auchendown, and Strathbogie, assembled his vassals, and pushed rapidly to Aberdeen, in the hope of seizing the queen. But the result was disastrous; as he marched forward, his force melted away, and with scarce five hundred men, he found himself attacked by the Earls of Moray, Morton, and Athole, at the head of two thousand men. The position where he made his last stand was a hill named Corrichie, about twelve miles from the city. From this, being driven by the fire of the arquebuses into a low marshy level, he was set upon by the spearmen of Moray, and completely defeated; himself slain, whether by the sword or suffocation from the weight of his armour was uncertain, his two sons made prisoners, and the rest of his company either killed, dispersed, or taken.²

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 24th September, 1562.

² Ibid, 2d Nov. 1562. Also, same to same, 2d Nov. 1562.

Sir John Gordon, the second son, who was reported to have been the chief contriver of this rebellion, and whose ambition aspired to the hand of the queen, was immediately executed ; and the body of Huntley, according to a savage feudal practice, after having been embowelled, was kept unburied till parliament should pronounce upon it the sentence of treason, (2d November, 1562.) His third son, Adam Gordon, a youth of eighteen, received a pardon ; but the eldest, Lord Gordon, was found guilty of treason and imprisoned : the immense estates of the family were seized by the crown, the title forfeited, and this all-potent house reduced in a moment to insignificance and beggary.

Some authors, guided by their prejudices rather than their research, have imagined that the fate of this great baron may be traced to a premeditated conspiracy of Moray, who carried the queen north, and prevailed on her to provoke Huntley into rebellion by her suspicions and neglect. This is mere conjecture. It is certain that the northern progress was planned by the queen herself ; and that her council, of whom Moray was the chief, so far from exciting Mary against Huntley, urged her to visit him at Strathbogie.¹ Sir John Gordon confessed his treasonable designs, and laid the burden of them on his father : two confidential servants of Huntley, Thomas Ker and his brother, acknowledged that their master, on three several occasions, had plotted to cut off Moray and Lethington ; and the queen herself, in a conversation with Randolph, thanked God for having delivered her enemy into her hand. “ She declared,” says this minister, who was an eye-witness and companion of the northern progress,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, 10th August, 1562. Ibid. same to same, 31st August, 1562.

"many a shameful and detestable part that he thought to have used against her, as to have married her where he would, to have slain her brother, and whom other he liked ; the places, the times, where it should have been done ; and how easy a matter it was, if God had not preserved her."¹ It was natural that Moray should rejoice in the fall of so potent an enemy to the Protestant party as Huntley : it is true that he availed himself of his offences to strengthen his own power ; but that, prior to the rebellion, he had laid a base design to entrap him into treason, is an opinion founded on conjecture, and contradicted by fact.

Mary now returned to her capital² and devoted herself to the cares of government ; but the difficulties of her situation increased. War had begun (to use the words of Secretary Maitland) between the two countries of the earth which, next to her own, were most dear to her,³ France and England — being descended of the blood of both of them by her father, and one of them by her mother. France was ready to urge her by the love she bore her relatives there, by the recollections of her early education in that country, and by the ties of a common faith, not to desert her friends when her assistance might be of essential benefit. Elizabeth, on the other hand, explained, by her ambassador, the causes which compelled her to send an army into France. The French king's subjects in Normandy had urged her, she said, to relieve them from the unjust tyranny of the house of Guise ; and as that monarch was unable to give them assistance, she had entered into a treaty with the Prince

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 23d Oct. 1562. Ibid. same to same, Oct. 28, 1562. Ibid. same to same, Nov. 2, 1562.

² 21st November, 1562.

³ Keith, p. 232.

of Condé, by which it was agreed he should receive support both in forces and money.¹

When Randolph communicated this information to Mary, she did not dissemble her sorrow, nor conceal her affection for her uncles. "This," said she, "I must say in their defence:—I believe them to be true subjects to their prince, and that they do no more than execute his orders; but," she added, "that she was not so unreasonable as to condemn those who differed from her in opinion, still less was she inclined, on their account, to abate any thing of the friendship she felt for his mistress the Queen of England," (2d November, 1562.) It was, in truth, scarcely possible for Elizabeth to entertain at this moment any serious fears of Mary's intrigues in France, when we find Randolph assuring Cecil, that she heard almost as seldom from that country as the King of Muscovy.²

Every thing, indeed, seemed to favour the growing strength of the party of the Congregation in Scotland: the fall of Huntley, the amity with England, the queen's partiality to Moray, the decided favour shown to the Protestants, and the gentleness with which she pleaded for her uncles, all evinced a determination in the queen, not to allow her personal convictions on the subject of religion to interfere with her duties as a sovereign. It was only to be regretted that the conduct of Knox, and the more violent of his brethren, occasionally excited feelings of resentment, when there was a predisposition to peace; and that his endeavours to secure the triumph of his party, (conscientious as they undoubtedly were,) were seldom accompanied by sound discretion or Christian love. Even Randolph,

¹ MS. State-paper Office, Sir J. Williamson's Collection, 2d series, vol. ii. pp. 169, 179.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 30th Dec. 1562.

their partial friend, was shocked by the manner in which the preachers prayed for the queen. “They pray,” says he, in his letter to Cecil, “that God will keep us from the bondage of strangers; and for herself, as much in effect as, that God will either turn her heart or send her short life.” He added, ironically, “of what charity or spirit this proceedeth, I leave to be discussed by the great divines.”¹ Although the queen, as we learn from Lethington’s letters, behaved towards the Reformer with much forbearance, it seems to have created no impression in her favour. As long as she retained her own faith, and permitted the celebration of mass in her private chapel, nothing could disarm his suspicions, appease his wrath, or check the personality of his attacks. His natural disposition was sarcastic, he had a strong sense of the ludicrous, and when provoked, his invectives were so minute, coarse, and humorous, that they alternately excited ridicule or indignation. Lethington scoffed, Morton commanded him to hold his peace, and Randolph, as we have seen, regretted that his proceedings had more zeal than charity.

News having arrived about this time of the restoration of peace to France, the queen, who took a deep interest in her uncles, was disposed to be merry; and the court, reflecting the countenance of the prince, was much occupied in masques and dancing: but to the news of peace were added suspicions of an intended persecution of the Protestants by the Guises; and Knox, grieving for his brethren, and scandalized at the prevailing gaieties, fulminated a complaint in the pulpit against the ignorance, tyranny, and malevolence of princes. His words were meant chiefly to apply

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 28th Feb. 1562-3.

to the Guises, but he was reported to have spoken irreverently of his sovereign, and brought before her to answer for his attack. His defence, which he has himself preserved in his History, was calculated rather to aggravate than extenuate the provocation. "Madam," said he, "this is oftentimes the just recompence which God gives the stubborn of the world, that because they will not hear God speaking to the comfort of the penitent, and for amendment of the wicked, they are oft compelled to hear the false report of others, to their great displeasure. I doubt not that it came to the ears of Herod, that our Master Jesus Christ called him a fox; but they told him not how odious a thing it was before God, to murder an innocent, as he had lately done before, causing to behead John the Baptist to reward the dancing of a harlot's daughter. If the reporters of my words had been honest men, they would have repeated my words, and the circumstances of the same; but because they would have credit in court, and wanting virtue worthy thereof, they needs must have somewhat to pleasure your majesty, if it were but flatteries and lies; but such pleasure, if any your majesty take in such persons, will turn to your everlasting displeasure; for, madam, if your own ears had heard the whole matter that I treated, if there be in you any spark of the spirit of God, yea of honesty and wisdom, you would not justly have been offended with any thing that I spake. And because you have heard their report, please your majesty to hear myself rehearse the same, so near as memory will serve [it was even next day after that the sermon was made.] My text, madam, was this: 'And now, O, kings, understand; be learned, ye judges of the earth.' After I had declared the dignity of kings and rulers, the honour wherein God has

placed them, the obedience that is due unto them, being God's lieutenants, I demanded this question : But oh, alas ! what account shall the most part of princes make before that supreme Judge, whose throne and authority so manifestly and shamefully they abuse ? The complaint of Solomon is this day most true, that violence and oppression do occupy the throne of God here on this earth ; for whilst that murderers, blood-thirsty men, oppressors, and malefactors, dare be bold to present themselves before kings and princes, and that the poor saints of God are banished and exiled, what shall we say, but that the devil hath taken possession in the throne of God, which ought to be a dread to all wicked doers, and a refuge to the innocent and oppressed ? And how can it be otherwise ? for princes will not understand, they will not be learned as God commands them ; but they despise God's law, his statutes and holy ordinances they will not understand. For in fiddling and flinging they are more exercised, than in reading or hearing God's most blessed word ; and fiddlers and flatterers (which commonly corrupt youth) are more precious in their eyes than men of wisdom and gravity, who by wholesome admonitions may beat down in them some part of that vanity and pride wherein we are all born, but which in princes takes deep root and strength by evil education. And of dancing, madam, I said, that albeit in Scripture I found no praise of it, and in profane writers, that it is termed the gesture rather of those that are mad and in frenzy than of sober men ; yet I do not utterly condemn it, providing that two vices be avoided : the former, that the principal vocation of those that use that exercise be not neglected for the pleasure of dancing ; secondly, that they dance not as the Philistines, their fathers, for the pleasure that they

take in the displeasure of God's people ; for if they do these, or either of them, they shall receive the reward of dancers, and that will be, to drink in hell, unless they repent."—"Your words are sharp enough even now," said Mary ; "and yet, they were told me in another manner. I know that you and my uncles are not of one religion, and, therefore, I cannot blame you for conceiving so ill an opinion of them ; but for myself, if you disapprove of aught, come to myself, speak openly, and I shall hear you." "Madam," answered Knox, "I am assured that your uncles are enemies to God, and unto his Son Jesus Christ ; and, for the maintenance of their own pomp and worldly glory, that they spare not to spill the blood of many innocents : and therefore, I am assured, their enterprises shall have no better success than others have had, who before them have done as they do now."¹

A melancholy incident soon after occurred, which in some measure justified Knox in his censure of the licentious manners of the court. Mary, who was passionately fond of music, had shown much favour to Chartellet, a French gentleman of good family, highly skilled in that science, and in other respects a handsome and accomplished person. Such encouragement² from a beautiful woman, and a queen, turned the unfortunate man's head ; he aspired to her love, and in a fit of amorous frenzy hid himself in the royal bed-

¹ Knox, pp. 334, 335. The time of this conversation between the Reformer and the queen, is fixed by a passage in a MS. letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated 16th December, 1562, State-paper Office. "Upon Sunday last, he [Knox] inveighed sore against the queen's dancing, and little exercise of herself in virtue and godliness. The report hereof being brought unto her ears, *yesterday*, she sent for him. She talked long time with him ; little liking there was between them, of the one or the other, yet did they so depart as no offence or slander did rise thereon."

² Keith, p. 221.

chamber, where, some minutes before she entered it, he was discovered by her female attendants. The circumstance was not disclosed to the queen till the succeeding morning, when, with an ill-judged lenity, she contented herself with commanding him to leave the court. Desperate in his attachment, however, he secretly followed her to Burntisland, and at night, when the queen was stepping into bed, and none beside her but her ladies, Chartellet again started from a recess, where he had concealed himself. The shrieks of the women soon roused the court, and when seized by those who rushed in, on hearing the uproar in the royal apartment, he audaciously acknowledged that he had meditated an attempt on the honour of the queen. Mary, glowing with indignation at the insult, commanded Moray, who first ran to her succour, to stab him with his dagger: but he preferred securing him to this summary vengeance: a formal trial followed, and the miserable man was condemned and executed within two days after his offence.¹ On the scaffold, instead of having recourse to his missal or breviary, he drew from his pocket a volume of Ronsard, and reading the poet's Hymn to Death, resigned himself to his fate with gaiety and indifference.² It was a lamentable spectacle: men blamed, but at the same time pitied him; they had not forgotten the recent flight of Captain Hepburn, who had behaved with brutal indelicacy to Mary: it seemed strange that, within a short time, two such outrageous insults should have been offered, and some did not scruple to blame the indiscriminate condescension of the queen, whose love of admiration made her sometimes forget the dignity

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 28th Feb. 1562-3.

² Brantome, vol. ii. p. 332. Randolph says, he died with repentance.

and reserve which is so sure a protection of female purity.

Shortly after this, the Scottish queen became disturbed by a rumour, that some measures, prejudicial to her right of succession, were contemplated in the English parliament, and she despatched Lethington to England, that he might watch over her interests, (12th February, 1562-3.)¹ He was enjoined not only to attend to the affair of the succession, but to endeavour to promote a reconciliation between Elizabeth and the party of the Guises; and, after he had concluded his transactions, to pass over to France with the same object. The secretary undertook the mission with reluctance; ² yet, with his usual ability, he succeeded in accomplishing the most important of his objects. No discussion of Mary's title took place; and the good understanding between the two queens continued, apparently at least, as firm as before.

It was beyond his power, however, to heal the wounds of France; and although Mary, in pathetic and earnest terms, offered herself as a mediatrix between her good sister Elizabeth, and that country, the recent course of events there had assumed an aspect which precluded all hopes of success, and were viewed by her with the deepest emotions. A zealous Catholic, and warmly attached to her uncles, she watched with interest the progress of events, and rejoiced in the successes which, at Bruges, Rouen, and Dreux, attended the arms of the Duke of Guise; but she was shocked with the ferocious character which the war had assumed. It was melancholy to see the

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Moray to Cecil, 12th February, 1562-3. Keith, p. 235, complains that the date of Maitland's mission is irrecoverably lost. It is fixed by the above letter.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 6th Feb. 1562-3.

country which was so dear to her, 'the land of her infancy, where she had passed her happiest years, flooded with the blood of its citizens; its towns stormed and razed, and its brave nobility opposed in mortal strife to each other. Even the news of their successes raised such conflicting feelings, that she heard them with tears;¹ and on receiving accounts of the assassination of the Duke of Guise, her grief was poignant;² yet she continued to make every effort for the restoration of concord in that country, and the preservation of amity with England. The insincerity and caprice of Elizabeth, the intrigues of Randolph, who secretly encouraged Scottish volunteers to assist the Huguenots,³ the violence and suspicion of Knox, which even Randolph pronounced unreasonable,⁴ and the intrigues of Cecil, could not deter her from that upright policy, which persuaded her, that many sacrifices should be made rather than break with England. She was cast down, indeed, when she beheld the increasing difficulties which were gathering around her, and the letters of the English minister present us with many painful pictures of her grief and embarrassment. Yet, when Cecil was disposed to doubt her sincerity, the same acute observer derides the vain fears of this statesman, and bears testimony to the friendly disposition of the queen, her councillors, and her people, towards England.

The two great objects which now filled Mary's mind, and employed the earnest deliberations of her ministers, were her right of succession to the English throne, and her marriage. On both points she was anxious, as indeed it was her interest, to consult the wishes of

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 5th Jan. 1562-3.

² Ibid. 18th March, 1562-3.

³ Ibid. 10th March, 1562-3.

⁴ Ibid. 16th Dec. 1562.

Elizabeth.¹ She had now remained in a widowed state for three years: she was convinced that a speedy marriage was the best measure for herself and her kingdom; her opinion was fortified by that of Moray and Lethington, and her hand had been already sought by the King of Sweden, the Infant of Spain, and the Archduke Charles, second son of the emperor; yet Elizabeth, although ever ready to oppose every foreign match, continued to preserve much mystery in stating her own wishes on the subject. It was evident it could not long suit the dignity of an independent princess to listen to ingenious objections, and repress every royal suitor in submission to the wishes of a sister queen. About this time, a report having reached the English court, that the successful candidate was one of the emperor's lineage, Cecil wrote in much alarm to Moray, who replied with firmness and good sense, that nothing serious had been yet concluded. But he added, that neither was it for her honour, nor could he advise her, to repress the suit of princes, however deeply interested in the continuance of the friendship between the two queens, and the mutual love and quietness of their subjects.²

Mary's difficulties, however, arose not merely from the interference and jealousy of the English queen, and the mysterious diplomacy of Cecil: the violence of the party which was headed by Knox and the reformed preachers occasioned her infinite disquiet, and was at length carried to such a height as to occasion a schism amongst the Protestants themselves. We have seen that this party disapproved entirely of the lenity with

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 15th May, 1563. Keith, p. 239, printed in Robertson's Appendix, No. vii.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Earl of Moray to Cecil, 23d Sept. 1563.

which Mary had been permitted the private exercise of her religion. The laxity with which the enactments against the mass were carried into execution excited their constant suspicion, and they persuaded themselves it was in vain to look for the favour of God till Presbyterianism, in its most rigid form, was established throughout the country. In this view, some whispers which began to float about regarding the marriage of Mary to a noble person recommended by Elizabeth, and, as a basis of this union, the restoration of complete amity between the two queens, gave them no little alarm. They knew the aversion of the English queen, as well as of Mary, to the form of worship which they believed the only system founded on Scripture ; and it was really more tolerable for them to see their royal mistress a confirmed Papist and the enemy of England, than the friend and (as had been anticipated more than once by Randolph and Lethington) the convert of Elizabeth to the Church of England.

To excite suspicions and interrupt the good understanding between the two queens became, therefore, a favourite object with Knox and the more violent of the reformers. They did not hesitate to blame Moray and Lethington for their anxiety to accomplish an interview, and traversed their praiseworthy efforts, by representing all the friendship professed by Mary as hollow and insidious. And yet, even from Knox himself, we learn some facts which might have convinced him of the contrary.

During the absence of Lethington in England, the Papists, encouraged by the Bishop of St Andrews and the Prior of Whithern, had disregarded the queen's proclamation. Mass was celebrated secretly in many private houses ; and when this was found dangerous, the votaries of the Romish faith fled into the woods

and mountains, where, amidst their silent solitudes, they adhered to the worship of their fathers.¹ Upon this the Presbyterians, despairing, as they alleged, of any redress of such abuse from the queen, took the law into their own hands, pursued and seized some priests, and sent word to the Romish clergy, that henceforth they would neither complain to the queen or council, but, with their own hands, execute upon idolaters the punishment contained in God's Word.² Mary, justly alarmed at this, sent for Knox to Lochleven, where she then resided, and remonstrated in earnest terms. She recommended toleration, and argued with him upon the cruelty of religious persecution. The Reformer pleaded the laws in force against idolatry: these, he said, it was the duty of princes to execute: if they failed so to do, others must do it for them; nor would God be offended if men, who feared Him, albeit neither kings nor magistrates, took it upon them to inflict judgment. "Samuel," said he, "spared not to slay Agag, the fat and delicate king of Amalek, whom Saul had saved; nor did Elias spare Jezabel's prophets and Baal's priests, although King Ahab stood by. Phinehas was no magistrate, but he feared not to strike Zimri and Cozbi." These examples, proved, he contended, that subjects might lawfully punish, although they were not clothed with the authority of the magistrate; but he besought the queen not to compel any one to this last resource, but herself administer the laws. "Think, madam," he concluded, "think of the mutual contract, and the mutual duties between yourself and your subjects. They are bound to obey you: ye are bound to keep the laws unto them.

¹ Randolph to Cecil, 1st May, 1563. Keith, p. 239.

² Knox, p. 362.

You crave of them service : they demand of you protection and defence against wicked doers.”¹

This bold exposition produced a favourable effect. Mary, for the moment, seemed offended, but soon after she sent for Knox, who met her next day as she pursued her pastime of hawking. Their interview was amicable, almost confidential. The queen, alluding to the intended election of a superintendent for Dumfries and the adjacent country, warned the Reformer against the Bishop of Caithness, who was a candidate for that preferment; and she informed him with great frankness, that his reasoning of yesterday had convinced her, that the offenders should be summoned, and justice duly administered.²

Nor was this promise forgotten. On the 19th of May, a few days before the meeting of parliament, the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Prior of Whithern, the Parson of Sanquhar, and other Papists, were arraigned before Argyle the justice-general, for the crime of celebrating mass; and having pleaded guilty, were subjected to a temporary imprisonment.³

The parliament now met, and was held with unusual pomp. Mary, surrounded by a brilliant cavalcade, rode in procession to the Tolbooth, where the estates assembled: the hall was crowded, not only by the members, but glittered with the splendid dresses of the royal household and the ladies of the court, who surrounded the throne and filled the galleries. The extreme beauty of the queen, and the grace with which she delivered the address in which she opened the proceedings, surprised and delighted her people: many

¹ Knox, p. 353.

² Ibid. p. 354, 19th May, 1563.

³ Ibid. p. 356. Keith, p. 239. MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 28th Feb. 1562-3. Also, Keith, p. 239. From the shattered MS. Randolph to Cecil, 20th May, 1563.

exclaimed, “ May God save that sweet face ! she speaks as properly as the best orator among them ! ”¹

Amidst this general enthusiasm, the preachers took great offence at the liberty of the French manners, and the extravagance of the foreign dresses. “ They spake boldly,” says Knox, “ against the superfluities of their clothes, and affirmed that the vengeance of God would fall, not only on the foolish women, but on the whole realm.” To check the growing licentiousness, an attempt was made to introduce a sumptuary law; articles against apparel were drawn up, and it was proposed to take order with other abuses ; but, to the extreme mortification of the Reformer, he was arrested in his career of legislation by the hand of the Lord James. This powerful minister deemed it impolitic at this moment to introduce these enactments. “ The queen,” he said, “ had kept her promises ; the religion was established, the mass-mongers were punished : if they carried things too high, she would hold no parliament at all.” Knox smiled significantly : Mar, he hinted, trembled for his new earldom of Moray, and all must be postponed to have his grant confirmed, lest Mary should repent of her munificence : he denounced, in strong terms, such selfish motives, reminded him of his solemn engagements to the church, and accused him of sacrificing truth to convenience, and the service of his God to the interests of his ambition. The proud spirit of Moray could not brook such an attack, and he replied with asperity : the two friends parted in anger ; and the Reformer increased the estrangement by addressing a letter, in which, in his usual plain and vehement style of reproof, he exonerated himself of all further care in his

¹ Knox, p. 357. Randolph to Cecil, 3d June, 1563. Keith, p. 239. The address had been written in French, but she translated it, and spoke it in English.

lordship's affairs, committing him to the guidance of his own understanding, whose dictates he preferred to the advancement of the truth. "I praise my God," said he, "I leave you victor over your enemies, promoted to great honour, and in authority with your sovereign. Should this continue, none will be more glad than I ; but if you decay, (as I fear ye shall,) then call to mind by what means the Most High exalted you : it was neither by trifling with impiety, nor maintaining pestilent Papists." So incensed was Moray with this remonstrance, that, for a year and a half, he and Knox scarcely exchanged words together.¹

Far from being intimidated by this desertion, the Reformer seized the opportunity of the parliament to address the nobility upon the subject of God's mercies to them as a commonwealth, and their own ingratitude. He had been with them, he declared, in their most desperate temptations : he was now with them in the days of their success and forgetfulness; and it was some relief to pour forth the sorrows of his heart, to remind them of the perils they had survived, to warn them of the duties they had neglected. "I see," said he, getting animated in his subject, and suddenly stretching out his arms as if he would leap from the pulpit and arrest the vision passing before him,² "I see before me the beleagured camp at St Johnston ; I see your meeting on Cupar Muir ; I hear the tramp of the horsemen as they charged you in the streets of Edinburgh ; and most of all is that dark and dolorous night now present to my eyes, in which all of you, my lords, in shame and fear left this town—and God forbid I should ever forget it ! What was then, I say, my exhortation unto

¹ Knox, p. 357.

² Melvil's Diary, p. 26. "He was like to ding the pulpit in blads [tatters] and flee out of it."

you? and what is fallen in vain of all that God ever promised you by my mouth? Speak, I say, for ye yourselves live to testify. There is not one of you against whom death and destruction was threatened who hath perished in that danger; and how many of your enemies hath God plagued before your eyes? And is this to be the thankfulness ye shall render unto your God, to betray his cause, when you have it in your hands to establish it as you please? The queen says, ‘ye will not agree with her.’ Ask of her that which by God’s Word ye may justly require; and if she will not agree with you in God, ye are not bound to agree with her faction in the devil. Let her plainly understand so far of your minds; forsake not your former courage in God’s cause, and be assured he will prosper you in your enterprises. And now, my lords,” he concluded, “to put an end to all, I hear of the queen’s marriage: dukes, brethren to emperors and kings, strive all for the best gain. But this, my lords, will I say—note the day, and bear witness hereafter: whenever the nobility of Scotland, who profess the Lord Jesus, consent that an infidel (and all Papists are infidels) shall be head to our sovereign, ye do as far as in you lieth to banish Christ Jesus from this realm, and to bring God’s vengeance on the country.”¹

This extraordinary license, and the boldness with which the Reformer availed himself of his sacred character to attack the sovereign, and dictate to the council, called forth the indignation both of Catholics and Protestants.² He was summoned to answer before the queen, and, coming to court after dinner, was brought

¹ Knox, p. 359.

² Knox, p. 359. “These words,” says he, “and this manner of speaking, was judged intolerable. Papists and Protestants were both offended.”

into her cabinet by Erskine of Dun, the superintendent of Angus and Mearns. Mary, whose feelings were keen, upbraided him with his ingratitude : she had borne, she said, with all his severest censures; she had sought his friendship, had offered him audience and preferment, but all in vain ; nothing would mollify, nothing would silence him : and as she said this, she began to weep and lament aloud, exclaiming, that he had nothing to do with her marriage, and warning him, with broken words and passionate gestures, to beware of her revenge. As soon as he could be heard, Knox attempted to defend himself, affirming, that in the pulpit he was not master of himself, but must obey His commands who had bade him speak plain, and flatter no flesh : as for the favours which had been offered to him, his vocation, he said, was neither to wait in the courts of princes, nor in the chambers of ladies, but to preach the gospel.—“ I grant it so,” reiterated the queen; “ but what have you to do with my marriage, or, what are you within the commonwealth ? ”—“ A subject born within the same,” said the Reformer; “ and albeit, madam, neither baron, lord, nor belted earl, yet hath God made me, how abject soever in your eyes, a useful and profitable member. As such, it is my duty, as much as that of any one of the nobility, to forewarn the people of danger ; and, therefore, what I have said in public, I here repeat to your own face. Whenever the nobility of this realm shall so far forget themselves as to consent that you shall be subject to an unlawful husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish the truth, betray the freedom of the realm, and, perchance, may be but cold friends to yourself.”¹

¹ This must have been in May, 1563. Knox, p. 361.

This new attack brought on a still more passionate burst of tears; and Mary, who could scarcely be appeased by the soothing speeches of the Laird of Dun, commanded Knox to quit the apartment. In obeying this, a scene occurred which was strikingly characteristic: the Reformer, passing into the outer chamber, found himself shunned and avoided by the nobles of the court, who looked strangely on him, as if they had never known him before. His temper was not, however, of the kind to be cast down by the desertion of these summer friends; and observing a circle of the ladies of the queen's household sitting near, in their gorgeous apparel, he could not depart without a word of admonition. “Ah, fair ladies,” said he, between jest and earnest, “how pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide, and then in the end we might pass to heaven with this gear! But fie on that knave, Death, that will come whether ye will or not; and when he hath laid on the arrest, then foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and tender; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targating, pearl, nor precious stones.”¹ In the midst of these speeches the Laird of Dun came out of the queen's cabinet, and requested Knox to go home; nor does it appear that Mary took any further notice of his officious and uncalled-for interference with her marriage.

When Lethington returned from his prolonged embassy to England and France, he expressed much indignation against the violence of Knox and his party;

¹ Knox, p. 361. “He *merrily* said.” The speech is in the very vein of Hamlet: “Get ye to my lady's chamber, and tell her, let her paint an inch thick, to this favour she must come — make her laugh at that.”

he affirmed that the reports which they had raised, regarding a match with Spain, tended directly to excite the jealousy of Elizabeth, and to create unworthy suspicions between the Scottish queen and her Protestant subjects. To discredit the Reformer, who had already quarrelled with Moray, became his great object, and this added bitterness to the schism which divided the more moderate from the more violent of the Protestants. We cannot wonder, indeed, that the fearless and declared opposition of this extraordinary man, who possessed great power, not only over his own friends, but over the people, provoked and thwarted so refined and crafty a politician as Lethington; and as Knox corresponded with Cecil, and was indefatigable in procuring secret information both from England and the continent, the secretary found him no easy enemy to deal with.

Not long after the return of Lethington, and when every proceeding on the part of Mary and her ministers was dictated by an anxious desire to conciliate Elizabeth, the Reformer, instead of seconding these efforts, addressed to Cecil a letter full of suspicion and alarm. He assured him, that out of the twelve who formed the queen's council, nine had been gained over to that which, in the end, would prove their destruction.¹ Every thing, he added, depended on the firmness of Moray: if he failed or faltered, all was lost. As for himself, he declared, he was prepared for the worst, and had little to fear on his own account; but it was lamentable to see the dark cloud of calamities which were preparing to burst upon his country, and all because men must follow the inordinate affections of her who was born to be the plague of her realm.

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Knox to Cecil, 6th Oct. 1563.

The key to part of this despondency is to be found in a sentence of the same letter, which, alluding to a late progress of the queen, informed Cecil, that “the conveying of the mass through these quarters, which longest had been best reformed, had dejected the hearts of many, and caused him to disclose the plainness of a troubled heart.”¹ Yet although, probably, he was over-excited, and too much alarmed, it is certain that Knox had good ground to believe that intrigues, for the marriage of the queen with some foreign potentate of her own religion, were then secretly agitated both in Scotland and on the continent.

It was probably her conviction of the truth of this which at the last drove Elizabeth from all her delays and excuses, and compelled her to point out plainly to Mary some prince or noble person, whom she judged worthy of her hand. To the astonishment of her council, she proposed her favourite Leicester, then the Lord Robert Dudley, and sent instructions to Randolph to sound the inclinations of the Scottish queen, and confer with Moray and Lethington upon the subject. As, however, he was not yet authorized to give the name,² these wary ministers, although they saw to whom he pointed, hesitated to meddle in so delicate a matter. They suspected, and not without good ground, the sincerity of the English queen; and hinted that, considering the affection which bound her to Dudley, and him to his royal mistress, it could not be believed that she would part with her lover, or be so base as to forsake her even for a crown.³ Ran-

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Knox to Cecil, 6th Oct. 1563.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, 21st February, 1563-4, Randolph to Cecil. “For whom the Queen’s Majesty’s Instructions licenseth me not to name, of him it shall not almost become me to have one word.”

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Feb. 21, 1563-4.

dolph's perplexity in conducting these nice and difficult negotiations, was strongly expressed in a letter which at this time he addressed to Cecil. "To persuade the Queen of Scotland," he observed, "to marry any man under the rank of a prince, would be a dangerous and dishonourable task for any subject to adventure; and even if Mary was ready to forget her royal dignity, and listen for a moment to the proposal of Elizabeth, there remained," he said, "a greater difficulty behind. In offering the noblest in England, none could be at a loss to divine who was meant. But how unwilling," he continued, "the queen's majesty herself would be to depart from him, and how hardly his mind could be divorced or drawn from that worthy room where it is placed, let any man see, where it cannot be thought but it is so fixed for ever, that the world would judge worse of him than of any living man, if he should not rather yield his life than alter his thoughts. Wherefore, this they (he alludes to Moray and Lethington) conclude, as well for her majesty's part, as for him who is so happy to be so far in her grace's favour, that if this queen would wholly put herself into Elizabeth's will, as to receive a husband of her selecting, either she should not have the best, or at least match herself with him that hath his mind placed already elsewhere; or if it can be withdrawn from thence, she shall take a man unworthy, from his disloyalty and inconstancy, to marry with any, much less with a queen. Whereupon they, knowing both their affections, and judging them inseparable, think rather that no such thing is meant on my sovereign's part, and that all these offers bear a greater show of good will than any good meaning."¹

Hitherto Randolph had not been permitted to name

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Feb. 21, 1563-4.

any one; but shortly after, Elizabeth having caught alarm at the continued intrigues for the marriage of Mary with some foreign prince, sent him a more distinct commission on the subject; and choosing a moment when Moray and Lethington were at the council, and Mary slenderly attended, he informed her of the wishes of his mistress, and named Lord Robert Dudley. She complained that, after long delay, he was now needlessly precipitate, and had taken her by surprise. She looked, she said, to have heard of peace between France and England, and of no such difficult matter as he had abruptly introduced. The English minister urged the necessity of a speedy decision on so important a point as her marriage, and the fair and honourable offer which was now made her. "Your own mistress," replied Mary, "has been somewhat longer of deciding than I have been; and you know she hath counselled me to have regard to three points, whereof the special one was honour. Now, think you, Master Randolph, that it will be honourable in me to imbase my state, and marry one of her subjects? Is this conformable to her promise to use me as her sister or daughter, to advise me to marry my Lord Robert—to ally myself with her own subject?"¹

To this Randolph, waving the point most difficult to answer, urged the advantage which might result to the tranquillity and happiness of both kingdoms, and intimated that the Queen of England, by the honour and preferments with which she intended to endow Dudley, would render him not unworthy of so exalted an alliance. Mary perceived he wished her to believe that his mistress might acknowledge her right of succession, and settle the kingdom upon her and Dudley;

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, March 30, 1564.

but even this did not tempt her. “Where is my assurance,” said she, “in this? What if the queen your mistress should marry herself, and have children? What have I then gotten? who will say I have acted wisely to take this step, which requires long consideration, on so sudden a proposal as this? I have conferred with no one; and although willing not to mistrust your mistress, the adventure is too great.” In reply, Randolph begged the queen to speak on the subject to Moray, Lethington, and Argyle. She agreed, and communicated Elizabeth’s proposal to them the same day after supper; but Lethington informed the English envoy, that although his mistress was pleased that, after so much obscure dealing, the Queen of England at last began to speak plainly, she deemed it prudent, when all was yet so vague, to give no more definite answer than that sent to her last letter.¹

If the English queen had been sincere in this proposal,—had she consented, as the basis of Mary’s marriage with Dudley, to acknowledge her right of succession, and agreed to confirm it by an act of the legislature, settling the crown upon their children,—Moray and Lethington were ready to use all their influence to promote the union; and it is very probable that the Scottish queen would have embraced the offer.² Upon no other supposition can we account for her conduct during this trying and tantalizing negotiation. She exhibited no indignation when the overture was first made by Randolph; she bore every delay with patience, and evinced every disposition to

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, March 30, 1564.

² On the 18th March, 1563-4, the queen issued a proclamation, declaring her determination to support the “Religion” as she found it on her arrival. MS. Book of privy council, fol. 126.

oblige Elizabeth. At her request and earnest recommendation, the Earl of Lennox, who had for many years been banished from Scotland, and whose proceedings against his native country had been hostile and treasonable, obtained permission to return, and was allowed to hope that his royal mistress would receive him with favour.¹ For some time nothing had been said of the intended interview between the two queens, and it had broken off on the part of Elizabeth; but when this princess now suddenly renewed her proposal for a meeting, although Mary's ministers, aware that it was merely a colour for delay, declined the overture, the Scottish queen herself was grieved that they did so, and earnestly desired it.²

On her part, therefore, and in the conduct of Moray and Lethington, every thing at this moment was open and friendly. On the side of Elizabeth and Cecil, on the other hand, there had been pursued, for the last three years, such a complicated system of delay, mystery, and caprice, as to create a suspicion in the minds of the Scottish ministers that the English queen was really hostile to the marriage, that she had not the slightest intention of giving up Leicester, and still less of settling the succession upon Mary. "If," said Lethington, addressing Cecil, "a conjunction be really meant, and you will prosecute the means to draw it on which were opened up by the queen my mistress's last answer, I doubt not but you will find conformity enough on this part; but if time be always driven without farther effect than hath yet followed upon any message which hath passed between them these three

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Elizabeth to Mary. Draft by Cecil, 16th June, 1563.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil. June 5, 1564. Also same to Lord Robert Dudley, same date.

years, I am of opinion he shall in the end think himself most happy who hath least meddled in the matter. Gentle letters, good words, and pleasant messages, be good means to begin friendship amongst princes ; but I take them to be too slender bands to hold it fast."¹ He then adds a remark which is strikingly descriptive of Cecil's mysterious diplomacy. " In these great causes between our sovereigns, I have ever found that fault with you, that as in your letters you always wrote obscurely, so in private communications you seldom uttered your own judgment : you might well *academico more* dispute in *utramque partem*, leaving me in suspense to collect what I would. So, I fear, in giving advice you will walk so warily, rather [being intent] to speak nothing that may any time thereafter hurt yourself, than to speak all things that might further the matter ; and I will confess I have of late enforced my natural [disposition] to learn this same lesson of you, for the reverence I bear you, that your manner of doing serves me for instruction to direct my proceeding. Marry, I fear the common affairs do not fare a whit the better for our too great wariness."²

Elizabeth was at last driven, by the conduct of Mary and her ministers, to that perplexity which is the general fate of duplicity when opposed to plain and direct dealing. As a last pretext for delay, she availed herself of some secret information transmitted by Knox to Randolph, regarding the alleged intrigues of Lennox in Scotland.

This highly allied noble had, as we have seen, obtained permission to return to that country a short time before this ;³ and at the earnest entreaty of

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, June 6, 1564.

² Ibid.

³ The return of Lennox to Scotland is described by Keith, p. 254,

Elizabeth, Mary promised to lend a favourable ear to his suits. Strictly speaking, Lennox was still an outlaw, for the sentence of his forfeiture could only be removed by an act of the legislature; yet the entreaty of the English queen, the recommendation of Cecil, and the powerful interest of Moray and the Secretary Lethington, were successfully exerted in his behalf. Randolph also had instructions from Elizabeth to promote his views; and when about to leave the English court, he not only received Mary's permission, under her great seal, to revisit his native country, but was flattered with the hope that his forfeiture would be removed, and himself replaced in the high station which belonged to his birth.

This anticipated restoration caused immediate alarm to Knox and his party. It was more than suspected that both Lennox and his son were Papists; and the Reformer, in a gloomy letter to Randolph, strongly deprecated their return.¹ His fears were instantly communicated to Elizabeth; and this princess, who was watching for a pretext to delay any negotiation on the subject of the marriage with Dudley, eagerly availed herself of this circumstance to commence a fresh system of duplicity and delay. She instantly took steps to detain the earl in England; and, although it was to gratify her own wishes, most earnestly ex-

as occurring on the 27th September; and the same accurate author corrects the error of Buchanan and Spottiswood, who place his return in September, 1563. The *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 77, states that Lennox came to Edinburgh on the 23d September. From a letter of Bedford to Cecil, MS. State-paper Office, dated 25th September, 1564, compared with another letter, from the same to the same, dated 19th September, MS. State-paper Office, B.C. I believe this authority to be correct.

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, ——— 3d, 1564. The date, I suspect, (from internal evidence, and a comparison with other letters,) must be 3d of September.

pressed to Lethington, that Mary had consented to receive him into favour, yet, with extraordinary inconsistency, she now commanded Cecil to address letters to Moray and Lethington, requiring them to persuade the Scottish queen to revoke her promise, and countermand his return into her kingdom. These able men, however, at once detected her object, and met her with a peremptory refusal. The correspondence which passed upon the subject is extremely important, in reference to the events which soon after occurred; and their reply to Cecil was so sarcastic and severe, that it gave offence both to the English queen and her pliant minister.¹ Alluding to the secret information which the English secretary had stated he had received from some of his best friends in Scotland, “I cannot tell,” said Lethington, “whom you take to be your best friends; but I think you ought to judge those to be best, who most earnestly go about to maintain quietness between the two realms, and intelligence between the princesses, wherein I am well assured my Lord of Moray and myself have done as good offices as any other; and for us, I am bold to say, neither of us have any misliking in the matter, but rather have been instruments to further than to hinder his coming; and if any other report of our meaning be made from hence, the author thereof (he here probably alludes to Knox) hath followed his own passion, being nothing privy to our intents, abusing our names on a purpose which we do not allow.”²

He next adverted to the sudden change in the queen’s mind upon the subject of Lennox’s return. That Elizabeth should now oppose it, was “not a little

¹ Elizabeth’s Instructions to Randolph, 4th October, 1564. Keith, p. 257.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, July 13, 1564.

marvellous," he observed, "seeing how earnestly her majesty did recommend unto me my Lord of Lennox's cause and my lady's, at my last being in that court : nay," he continued, " suddenly after I had taken my leave, you yourself, at her majesty's commandment, did send after me by post her letters to the queen's majesty, my mistress, very affectionate in their favour, willing me to present the same with recommendation from the queen." He next remarked, that the sole cause which had moved him to exert his influence for Lennox, was the request of the English queen, which he believes also to have been his chief recommendation to Mary. " And now," said he, " having once, under her great seal, permitted him liberally to come, it will be a hard matter to persuade her majesty to revoke it ; and I dare little presume to enter into any such communication with her majesty, knowing how much she doth respect her honour where promise is once passed, and how unwilling she is to change her deliberations being once resolved ; which," he adds, "as she will not do herself, so doth she altogether mislike in all others."

He then alluded to Knox's apprehensions regarding the effects which Lennox's return might produce upon the state of the reformed religion. " The religion here," he observed, " doth not depend upon my Lord of Lennox's coming, neither do those of the religion hang upon the sleeves of any one or two that may mislike his coming. For us, whether he come or not come, I take to be no great matter, up or down. Marry, that the stay should grow upon the queen's majesty's side here, it should somewhat touch her majesty in honour, having once permitted his license so freely ; unless she might shadow the change of her mind by the queen, her good sister's request, and forbid it for her pleasure,

which I perceive is not your sovereign's meaning ; who wishes¹ she would take the matter upon herself, which she thinketh too hard." ² Moray, in a letter of the same date as the above, which he addressed to Cecil, expressed himself in terms more brief, but still more emphatic. " As to the faction," says he, " that his coming might make for the matters of religion, thanks to God our foundation is not so weak that we have cause to fear if he had the greatest subject of this realm joined to him, seeing we have the favour of our prince, and liberty of our conscience in such abundance as our hearts can wish. It will neither be he nor I, praised be God, can hinder or alter religion hereaway ; and his coming or remaining in that cause will be to small purpose." ³ The English queen had addressed to Mary a letter at the same time, and to the same effect ; but she replied with so much spirit, and used so little care to conceal her opinion of such inconsistent conduct, that Elizabeth was deeply offended.⁴

Thus foiled in this secret intrigue against Lennox, Elizabeth withdrew her opposition. She had been careful to have all evidence of it destroyed ; ⁵ and, to the world, therefore, every thing appeared open and consistent. The earl received her license to leave England, and on the 23d of September he arrived in Edinburgh, bringing with him a strong letter of recommendation from the English queen,⁶ which Mary, who

¹ In the original, " who would."

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, July 13, 1564.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Earl of Moray to Cecil, 13th July, 1564.

⁴ Melvil's Memoirs, p. 116. Bannatyne edition.

⁵ Lethington says to Cecil, " I have used the best means I could to recover the queen's letter, that I might have returned it again to her highness, but I was answered, that the letter was burnt at her own request. * * * I have, according to your desire, returned unto you your own letter." ⁶ Keith, p. 254.

knew her real sentiments, must have read with no very favourable opinion of her sincerity. This princess was then absent on a northern progress, but she returned before the end of the month; and Lennox, having been invited by his royal mistress to present himself at court, obeyed her injunction with much state and ceremony. He rode to the palace of Holyrood, having twelve gentlemen before him, splendidly mounted and clothed in black velvet; behind him came a troop of thirty attendants bearing his arms and livery: having dismounted, the queen instantly sent for him, and their interview, which took place in the presence of the nobility, was flattering and cordial.¹ Mary immediately communicated these particulars to Elizabeth, informing her, that from her anxiety to show deference to her request, she had not only already given the earl some proof of her good will, but meant also to "proceed further to his full restitution, whereby he should be able to enjoy the privileges of a subject, the liberty of his native country, and his old titles."² Soon after, the restored lord invited Randolph to dinner; and the ambassador wrote to Cecil an account of the entertainment, which proves that the Scottish queen had been as good as her word. "I dined with my Lord of Lennox," said he, "being by him required in the morning. I found nothing less for the beautifying and furniture of his lodging than your honour hath heard by report; the house well hanged, two chambers very well furnished, one special rich and fair bed, where his lordship lieth himself, and a passage made through the wall to come the next way

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 77.

² Keith, p. 255, Mary to Elizabeth. Keith printed from a contemporary copy, which leaves the day of the month blank. The original is in the State-paper Office, dated 28th September, 1564.

into court when he will. I see him honourably used of all men, and that the queen's self hath good liking of his behaviour. There dined with him the Earl of Athole, in whom he reposeth singular trust, and they are seldom asunder, saving when the Earl of Lennox is at the sermon. [Athole was a Roman Catholic.] There was also his brother, the Bishop of Caithness, a Protestant, who sometimes preacheth. His lordship's cheer is great, and his household many, though he hath despatched divers of his train away. He findeth occasion to disburse money very fast, and of his £700 brought with him, I am sure that much is not left. If he tarry long, Lennox may, perchance, be to him a dear purchase. He gave the queen a marvellous fair and rich jewel, whereof there is made no small account; a clock, and a dial curiously wrought and set with stones; and a looking-glass, very richly set with stones, in the four metals: to my Lord of Lethington, a very fair diamond in a ring: to my Lord Athole another, as also somewhat to his wife—I know not what: to divers others somewhat, but to my Lord of Moray nothing. He presented, also, each of the Marys with such pretty things as he thought fittest for them; such good means he hath to win their hearts, and to make his way to farther effect. The bruit is here, that my lady herself, and my Lord Darnley, are coming after, insomuch that some have asked me if she were upon the way. This I find, that there is here marvellous good liking of the young lord, and many that desire to have him here.”¹

Whilst Lennox found himself thus happily restored after so long a banishment, and when Mary enjoyed

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 24th Oct. 1564. A long, minute, and most interesting letter, of which Keith, p. 259, had only seen a brief abstract in the Cotton Collection.

the satisfaction of extending to him her favour and forgiveness, Elizabeth's mind was torn with doubt, and reduced to a state of the greatest perplexity. We learn this from the following remarkable letter written in her own hand to Cecil. This minister, her director in every difficulty, was then confined to his chamber by sickness, and the queen, snatching a sheet of paper, wrote to him these few lines in Latin :—“ In ejusmodi laberintho posita sum de responso meo reddendo R. [reginæ] Scotiæ, ut nescio quomodo illi satisfaciam, quum neque toto isto tempore illi ullum responsum dederim, nec quid mihi dicendum nunc sciām. Invenias igitur aliquid boni quod in mandatis scriptis Randoll dare possem, et in hac causa tuam opinionem mihi indica.”¹ This secret confession of the English queen is of much value in determining the truth. There is, we see, no accusation of the policy of Mary, or her ministers Moray and Lethington. Their open dealing upon the two great points of the marriage and the succession is virtually admitted. She complains, that it had at last reduced her to a dilemma in which she knew not what to do or what to say, and throws upon Cecil the burden of finding, or inventing, some plausible apology which she may transmit by Randolph, then about to leave the English court for Scotland.

In the meantime, the Scottish queen despatched Sir James Melvil, whom she had lately recalled from France, on a mission to Elizabeth. Melvil was an

¹ “ I am involved in such a labyrinth, regarding the reply to the letter of the Queen of Scots, that I know not how I can satisfy her, having delayed all this time sending her any answer, and now really being at a total loss what I must say. Find me out some good excuse, which I may plead in the despatches to be given to Randolph, and let me know your opinion in this matter.” MS. State-paper Office, entirely in the queen's hand-writing, and thus backed by Cecil, “ 23d September, 1564. At St James's, the Queen writing to me, being sick.”

accomplished gentleman, who had been educated in the household of the Constable Montmorency; he was personally acquainted with most of the leading men in France and Germany; and being a Protestant, Mary believed he would be acceptable to her sister, and might do much to remove any unpleasant feelings which the late embarrassment regarding Lennox had occasioned between them. He was instructed to insinuate himself as much as possible into the confidence of the English queen; to mingle merry discourses with business, and gain her familiar ear; to discover, if possible, her real intention and wishes on the subject of the marriage; and to keep a strict and jealous eye upon any measures which might be contemplated, regarding Mary's right of succession to the English crown.¹ On both points he conducted the negotiation with success; and the account of it which he has left in his Memoirs, presents us with the best portrait of Elizabeth, "as a woman," that has ever been given. The English queen was much pleased with his lively and elegant manners, with his fund of court anecdotes, and the tone of gallantry and devotion with which he addressed her. She frequently sent for him three times a-day, questioned him upon the beauty of his royal mistress as compared with her own, insisted on knowing which of them he found fairest, which the best shaped, and whether he liked her most when habited in the English, French, or Italian costume. On one occasion, taking him into her bed-chamber, and opening an escritoire, she showed him some small miniatures, wrapped up in a paper, upon which the queen had written their names in her own hand. Taking one from among these, she kissed it and held it to Melvil: it was the picture of his

¹ Melvil's Memoirs, Bannatyne edit. pp. 112-114, inclusive.

royal mistress ; and the gallant envoy snatching Elizabeth's hand, who was not displeased with the familiarity, kissed it "for the love he saw she bore his queen." His eye then caught another, on which was written "My lord's picture :" Elizabeth would have put it aside ; it had been a present from her favourite Leicester ; but Melvil earnestly begged a sight : she put it into his hand, and he then playfully said, he would carry it to his own queen in Scotland. "Nay, I have but that one," said she. "True," he replied, "but your majesty possesses the principal," glancing his eye towards the earl, who stood talking to Secretary Cecil at the farther end of the chamber.¹ During Melvil's stay at the English court, the Lord Robert Dudley, whom Elizabeth had proposed as a husband for Mary, was created Earl of Leicester with great solemnity ; and at the inauguration, Lord Darnley, Lennox's eldest son, bore the sword, as nearest prince of the blood. The ceremony took place at Westminster, "herself," says Melvil, "helping to put on his ceremonial, he sitting on his knees before her, keeping a great gravity and discreet behaviour, but she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck to kittle [tickle] him, smilingly, the French ambassador and I standing beside her. Then," he continues, "she asked me how I liked him. I said, as he was a worthy subject, he was happy in having encountered a princess that could discern and reward good service. 'Yet,' she said, 'ye like better yonder long lad,' pointing to Lord Darnley. My answer again was, that no woman of spirit would make choice of such a man, who was more like a woman than a man ; for he was very lusty, beardless, and lady faced." In this last sarcasm on

¹ Melvil's Memoirs, Bannatyne edit. p. 122.

Darnley's feminine appearance, the ambassador had an end in view. Mary had given him a secret commission to deal with Lady Lennox, that her son should pass into Scotland to see the country and visit his father, and he was anxious that Elizabeth should have no suspicion of any such overture on the part of the Scottish queen.¹ During the nine days that he remained at the English court, Melvil continued to be treated with much confidence and familiarity. Elizabeth assured him that the subject of Mary's right to the succession of the crown of England should be treated of in an approaching meeting of commissioners from both countries, and declared her anxiety to declare her the second person in the realm, provided she listened to her advice on the subject of her marriage. She added, "that it was her own resolution at this moment to remain till her death a virgin queen, and that nothing would compel her to change her mind, except the undutiful behaviour of the queen her sister." Melvil smiled incredulously, and shook his head, observing, "that he knew she would never marry, because, let Mary do what she would, the Queen of England had 'too stately a stomach' to suffer a commander;" adding, "you think if you were married, you would be only Queen of England, and now ye are king and queen both."² She earnestly wished she could see Mary. "Why should not your highness," said the ambassador, "disguise yourself as a page, and let me carry you secretly into Scotland; it would occupy but a few days, and for the time, it might be given out in the palace that you were sick and kept your chamber." "Alas," said the queen, much pleased with the romantic proposal, "would that it could be done." When,

¹ Melvil's Memoirs, Bannatyne edit. p. 120.

² Ibid. p. 122.

some time after this, he begged to have his answer, that he might return home, she upbraided him with being sooner tired of her company than she was of his, and laid a little plot, by which he might be witness to her musical skill, and yet save her vanity from the appearance of a studied exhibition. Lord Hunsdon, after dinner, drew him aside to a quiet gallery, where he might hear some music, laying his finger on his mouth, and whispering that Elizabeth was playing on the virginals. The corridor was separated from the royal chamber only by a curtain, behind which Melvil listened for a while, then drawing it softly aside, and perceiving that her majesty's back was towards him, he slipt into the chamber, and heard her execute a piece admirably well. The queen, however, suddenly turned round, and running forward, as if ashamed, threatened to strike him with her left hand. "She was not used," she said, "to play before men," and asked him, "how he came there." The ambassador did not find it difficult to appease the royal anger. "He was walking in the gallery," he said, "with Lord Hunsdon, when his ear was ravished with her melody, which drew him into the chamber, he could scarcely tell how; he implored her pardon, but he had been brought up in a foreign court, where the manners were less grave than in England, and was ready to bear any punishment her highness chose to inflict." Elizabeth was much pleased; she sat down on a cushion, and, when Melvil knelt beside her, asked him, whether she or Mary played best. He gave her the delight of hearing, that in music she excelled Mary, and she declared she would not let him away till he had seen her dance.¹

On his return to Scotland, the ambassador informed

¹ Melvil's Memoirs, p. 125.

his mistress of Elizabeth's strong protestations of friendship and attachment, but being pressed by the Scottish queen to give his opinion of her sincerity, declared his conviction that she had little upright meaning; on the contrary, he had detected, he said, much dissimulation and jealousy: she had already hindered her marriage with the Archduke Charles, and she now offered Leicester, who was the last man she would part with.¹ In the meantime Randolph, who for a considerable period had been resident at the English court, was despatched into Scotland with instructions to renew the proposals regarding Leicester; but his promises were so vague, and his answers, when pressed by Moray and Lethington, so obscure, evasive, and dilatory, that these ministers could arrive at no definite conclusion,² and dreaded to commit themselves. A secret meeting was held between them and the Earl of Bedford at Berwick, but it led to no more satisfactory result.³ Repeated conferences then took place with Randolph. This crafty and discerning envoy assured Cecil and his royal mistress, that although Mary was worn out with delays, pressed by foreign suitors, and agitated by idle and malicious rumours arising from her remaining unmarried, still she continued to be animated by the same friendly feelings towards Elizabeth, she spoke of her with affection and respect, and seemed inclined to think her sincere regarding the marriage with Dudley.⁴ Her ministers assured him, that if his royal mistress would perform their sole and simple request—if she would procure it

¹ Melvil's Memoirs, p. 129.

² MS. Instructions, State-paper Office, draft by Cecil, 7th October, 1564. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, 4th Nov. 1564.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 12th Nov. 1564.

⁴ Ibid. 2d December, 1564.

to be declared by act of parliament, that Mary was next to herself in succession to the English crown, they would undertake to overthrow all foreign practices for her marriage, and accomplish the union with Leicester.¹ That nobleman had in the meantime written such humble and flattering letters to Mary that she was much prepossessed in his favour; she showed herself averse to the foreign offers made to her through her uncle the cardinal; and, judging impartially from the whole tenor of the negotiations, there seems little doubt that the Scottish queen, upon the conditions mentioned, would have agreed to marry Leicester.

On the 14th December Randolph again wrote to Cecil; he referred to the letter lately addressed to this minister by Maitland and Moray, and he then observed: "The stay now standeth either in the queen's majesty to have all this performed, or in his Lordship's self, [Leicester,] that hath the matter so well framed to his hand, that much more, I believe, there need not be than his own consent, with that which may be for the queen's majesty's honour to do for him. It abideth now no longer deliberation. You have the offer, you have the choice. * * * It is now looked for, that to the letter written to your honour there come a full and resolute answer." He proceeds to enumerate the causes which move them thus earnestly to solicit an end. "Age," says he, "time, necessity of her state, compel her to marry; her people, her friends, press her thereunto. The offers made are such, as not without good cause they can be refused, though some inconveniences may arise sooner, in matching with one than with another; practices there are divers

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, 3d December, 1564, Moray and Lethington to Cecil. Also, ibid, 24th December, 1564, Moray and Lethington to Cecil.

in hand." Alluding to the two great suitors, Leicester and Darnley, of whose intended journey into Scotland many whispers now ran in the country, he observes : "That which in this case is not a little to be considered, is, that I have inquired of themselves, and find it true by others, that there is no man for whom, hitherto, any suit hath been made to match with this queen, that shall be more grateful or more acceptable to the people, than shall be my Lord Robert. There hath been more thought of my Lord Darnley before his father's coming, than is at this present. * * * The father is now here well known ; the mother more feared a great deal than beloved of any that knoweth her. To any other than yourself, if I should write in this sort, my wit would greatly fail me."¹ These urgent requests of Randolph produced little effect. Cecil, completely under the control of his mistress, did not venture to move a step without her warrant ; and as he found it impossible to induce her to make any special offer, or to consent to the demands of Mary's ministers, he was compelled to involve his answers in passages of such interminable length and obscure meaning, that, to use Randolph's phrase, "Lethington and Moray were worked up to great agonies and passions."² Nor was it wonderful it should be so. They had en-

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 14th December, 1564. He adds this sentence, which mentions a fact I have not elsewhere seen noticed, the influence which Lady Lennox had over the mind of Mary queen of England. "To think that Lord Darnley should marry this queen, and his mother to bear that stroke [have that influence] with her, that she bore with Queen Mary, (which she is like to do, as you can conjecture the causes why,) would alienate as many minds from the queen's majesty, my sovereign, by sending home as great a plague into this country as that which, to her majesty's great honour and perpetual love of the faithful and godly, she drove out of the same when the French were forced to retire themselves."

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, 9th January, 1564-5, Randolph to Cecil.

gaged in a perilous negotiation, on their sole responsibility ; the queen their mistress, had intrusted them, indeed, with a general commission, but they had gone far beyond their instructions, and had expressed themselves in such terms as, if once discovered, must have brought them into immediate suspicion. In writing to Cecil they allude to *his* situation, as contrasted with *their own*, in the following remarkable passages : “ We immediately resolved to answer you without any drift of time, being more easy for us, for one respect, so to do, than it was for you to answer our former letter ; forasmuch as *we* have none with whom we either dare or will communicate any thing passed between us, and *you* were compelled to make your sovereign privy to our letter, before you might answer it. Truth it is, that in another point *you* have more advantage, in that you have a sufficient warrant for what you write, and so work surely, writing nothing but that your mistress both knoweth and doth allow ; and we, without any commandment or warrant, write such things as, being brought to light, were sufficient matter to overthrow our credit at our sovereign’s hand, and put all we have in danger. Although our conscience doth not accuse us that we intend any prejudice to her majesty, yet in princes’ affairs, matters be as they list to take them ; and it will not be allowed for a good reason, when they call their ministers to account, to say we meant well.” “ In your letter,” they observe, “ you have well provided that we shall find no lack for shortness thereof ; yet, to speak squarely our opinion, we think you could in fewer lines have comprehended matter more to our contention ; and better for furtherance of the purpose intended, if you had a sufficient warrant, and therewithal a mind to fall roundly to work with us. * * * When we came to those words—that seeing us mean

to fall roundly to work, you will go also roundly to work with us, and proceed plainly—we looked for a plain resolution; but, having read over that which followed, you must bear with us if we find ourselves nothing satisfied: * * * for in that same plain speech, there be many obscure words and dark sentences, and, (pardon us that we say so,) in a manner, as many words as there be, as many ambiguities do result thereof.”¹

In the midst of these protracted negotiations, a parliament was held at Edinburgh, in which Mary fulfilled her promise to the Earl of Lennox. His forfeiture was reversed, his estates and honours restored, whilst the queen, to give the greater solemnity to this act of favour, came herself to the House, and in a short address informed the estates, that one of the chief causes which moved her to replace this baron in his former power and station, was the earnest suit of the queen, her good sister of England.² At the same time the act against the mass was confirmed in all its severity. To be present at its celebration was made punishable by the loss of lands, goods, and even life, if the prince should think fit; nor were any exempted from the full penalties of the statute, except the queen and her household. This confirmation of a severe and unjust law might, at least, have convinced the more rigid Protestants that Mary remained true to the promise she had made on her first arrival; whilst her continued favour to Moray, and the parliamentary sanction given

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Moray and Lethington to Cecil, 24th December, 1564.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 15th December, 1564. His restoration was proclaimed with great solemnity by five heralds, at the Cross, which was hung with tapestry, and surrounded by the lords sitting on horseback.—Stevenson’s Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary, p. 111.

to the late grant of his new earldom, manifested the sincerity of her dealing towards him to whom she committed the chief management of her affairs.

Shortly after this, the great affair of the marriage with Leicester seemed, from what cause is not easily discoverable, to assume a more decided form. Lethington thanked Cecil for a friendly and gentle letter, and rejoiced in the hopes it led him to entertain of the ultimate success of that good work which he had begun.¹ Mary also, who had retired for some time to St Andrews, to throw off the cares of state and the restraints and formalities of her court, received Randolph with expressions of unfeigned friendship and openness, declaring her determination, if Elizabeth agreed to the offer made by her ministers, to abide by her wishes, and to be guided by her instructions in all things. At first, indeed, she playfully refused to listen to any introduction of grave and weighty matters: it was, she said, her holiday time; she had thrown aside her pomp, and lived with a small train in a merchant's house at St Andrews, intent on nothing but to be quiet and happy. Randolph, however, was not to be thus put aside. He dined and supped with her every day, and at last ventured to speak of business. "I had no sooner spoken the word," says he, "but the queen said, 'I see now well that you are weary of this company and treatment. I sent for you to be merry, and to see how like a bourgeois wife I live, with my little troop, and you will interrupt our pastimes with your great and grave matters. I pray you, sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity and great embassade until the queen cometh thither, for I assure you, you shall not get her here; nor I

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, 1st Feb. 1564-5.

know not myself where she is become. You see neither cloth of estate, nor such appearance, that you should think I am she at St Andrews that I was at Edinburgh.'—‘I said,’ (continues Randolph,) ‘that I was very sorry, for that at Edinburgh she said that she did love my mistress the queen’s majesty better than any other, and now I marvelled how her mind was altered.’” Mary upon this became merry, and “called him by more names than were given him in his chris-tendom.” * * * “Well, sir,” said she, “that which then I spoke in words shall be confirmed to my good sister your mistress in writing. Before you go out of this town you shall have a letter for her: and for yourself go where you will, I care no more for you.”¹ The next day he was commanded to be at the queen’s table, and placed the next person (saving worthy Beaton²) to Mary herself. After dinner she rode abroad, and it pleased her, most part of the time, to talk with him. As the queen’s conversation at this ride was important, it is perhaps best to give it in her own words, as they were instantly afterwards reported to Elizabeth by Randolph himself. “She had occasion,” says the ambassador, “to speak much of France, for the honour she received there to be the wife unto a great king, and for the friendship showed unto her in particular by many, for which occasions she was bound to love the nation, to show them pleasure, and do them good. Her acquaintance,” she said, “was not so forgotten there, nor her friendship so little esteemed, but yet it was divers ways sought to be continued. She hath of her people many well affected that way,

¹ Randolph to Elizabeth, 5th Feb. 1564-5. Printed by Chalmers, Life of Mary, vol. i. p. 190, 8vo edition.

² Worthy Beaton was either Mary Beaton, one of her maids of honour, or Beaton, a gentleman, mentioned afterwards in p. 292.

for the nurture they have had there, and the commodity of service, as those of the guard and men-at-arms; besides, great privileges for the merchants, more than ever were granted to any nation. What privately hath been sought (she continued, turning the discourse to her marriage) for a long time, and yet is sought, [namely,] that I should yield myself unto their desires in my marriage, your mistress cannot be ignorant of it, and you have heard. To leave such friends, and to lose such offers, without assurance of as good, nobody will give me advice that loveth me. Not to marry, you know, it cannot be for me. To defer it long, many incommodities ensue; how privy to my mind your mistress hath been herein, you know. How willing I am to follow her advice I have shown many times, and yet I can find in her no resolution or determination. For nothing I cannot be bound unto her;¹ and I have of late given assurance to my brother of Moray, and Lethington, that I am loath to frame my will against hers, and so do now show unto yourself, which I wish you to bear in mind, and to let it be known unto my sister, your mistress. And therefore this I say, and trust me, I mean it: if your mistress will (as she hath said) use me as her natural born sister or daughter, I will take [consider] myself either the one or the other, as she please, and will show no less readiness to obey her, and honour her, than my mother or eldest sister; but if she will repute me always as her neighbour the Queen of Scots, how willing soever I be to live in amity, and to maintain peace, yet must she not look for that at my hands, that otherwise I would, or she desireth.² To forsake

¹ She means, "I cannot be required to bind myself to Elizabeth, and get nothing in return."

² That is to say, "that she desires, and in other circumstances I would willingly give."

friendship offered, and present commodity [advantage] for uncertainty, no friend will advise me; nor, if I did, would your mistress' self approve my wisdom. Let her, therefore, measure my case as her own, and so will I be hers. For these causes, until my sister and I have further proceeded, I must apply my mind to the advice of those that seem to tender most my profit, that show their care over me, and wish me most good.

"I have disclosed to you," said she, "all my mind, and require you to let it be known to your sovereign. My meaning unto her is plain, and so shall my dealing be. I know how well she is worthy, and so do esteem her; and, therefore, I will say thus much more—that as there is none nearer of kin unto her than I am, nor none more worthy to whom I may submit myself, so is there none to whom with better will I desire to be beholden unto than unto her, or to do any thing that may be with my honour."

In the midst of this discourse Mary stopt suddenly, protesting "that she had been drawn on to talk on a subject upon which she had hitherto kept to him a profound silence." Randolph admitted it to be so, but said he knew her mind from her ministers. "I charged them," rejoined the queen, "to consider what was best for me, and I find them bent towards you, and yet I believe they will advise the best; but your mistress may use me [so] that I will leave their advices, and follow hers alone." The ambassador earnestly trusted it might be so. "Remember, then, what I have said," continued the Scottish queen: "this mind cometh not upon the sudden; it is more than a day or two that I have had this thought, and more than this too, that you shall not know." "I desired her grace (proceeds Randolph) not to cut off

her talk there, it was so good, so wise, so well framed, and so comfortable unto me, as nothing could be more, to hear that mind in her towards your majesty."

"I am a fool," said Mary, "thus long to talk with you; you are too subtle for me to deal with." Randolph protested upon his honesty, that his meaning was only to nourish a perpetual amity between his mistress and her, and that this could only be done by honest means. "How much better were it," said she, "that we two, being queens, so near of kin, neighbours, and living in one isle, should be friends, and live together like sisters, than by strange means divide ourselves to the hurt of us both. And to say that we may, for all that, live friends,¹ we may say and promise what we will, but it will pass both our powers. You repute us [Scots] poor, but yet you find us cumbersome enough. We have had loss—ye have taken skaith.² Why may it not be so between my sister and me, that we, living in peace and assured friendship, may give our minds, that some as notable things may be wrought by us women, as by our predecessors have been before. Let us seek this honour against some other [rather] than fall at debate among ourselves." "I asked her grace here," says Randolph, "whether she would be content one day, whenever it were, to give her assistance for the recovery of Calais?" At this question Mary laughed, and said, "many things must pass between my good sister and me before I can give you answer; but I believe to see the day that all our quarrels shall be one; and assure you, if we be not, the fault shall not be in me." Randolph, encouraged by her frankness, pressed her to say "how

¹ That is to say, "that nothing hinders us to live in friendship, continuing as we are now, is vain. We may promise what we will, but we cannot perform it."

² Hurt.

she liked the suit of my Lord Robert earl of Leicester, that he might write her opinion of him to Elizabeth." — " My mind towards him," replied Mary, " is such as it ought to be of a very noble gentleman, as I hear say by many ; and such a one as the queen your mistress my good sister does so well like to be *her* husband, if he were not her subject, ought not to mislike me to be *mine*. Marry ! what I shall do, lieth in your mistress' will, who shall wholly guide me and rule me."¹

Ten days after this letter was written, Henry lord Darnley, having obtained the permission of Elizabeth, and with strong letters in his favour from Leicester and Sir William Cecil, repaired to Scotland. His avowed errand was to visit his father, and assist him in some private affairs which required the personal presence of the heir of his house ;² but there is no doubt that other and deeper schemes hung upon this journey. The Countess of Lennox his mother, an ambitious and intriguing woman, looked forward to his ingratiating himself with Mary ; and Elizabeth, who dreaded lest her simulated offer of Leicester should involve her in difficulties, and compel her to part with her favourite, was nowise averse to make the Scottish queen acquainted with this young prince, who, next to herself, was the nearest heir to the English throne. He was received with much distinction by the Earl of Bedford, and having passed a night at Lethington, the seat of Secretary Maitland, arrived at Edinburgh, 12th February, 1564-5.³ Having learnt that the queen was absent in Fife, he passed over the Firth, and was

¹ Chalmers's Life of Mary, vol. i. p. 190, from the original in the State-paper Office, Randolph to Elizabeth, 5th February, 1564-5.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lennox to Cecil, March 10, 1564-5.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Feb. 12, 1564-5.

introduced to Mary at the castle of the Wemyss,¹ where, during a short progress, she then resided. His reception was flattering; and his manners and address created a prepossession in his favour, not only amongst the Scottish courtiers, but in the more severe and sarcastic mind of Randolph the English ambassador. As he was aware that his sudden appearance in Scotland must draw the eyes of many upon him, it was his object to conciliate all parties. It was suspected that both his father and himself were Papists; but the young lord put himself under the guidance of Moray, and went to hear Knox preach. After the sermon they returned to the palace; he was introduced to the beauties of the court, and in the evening, at the suggestion of Moray, Darnley danced a galliard with the queen.²

But although whispers began to circulate regarding the motives which had brought him to Scotland, there can be no doubt that Mary and her ministers were still intent upon the matrimonial negotiation with England. At this moment she treated with great coldness the overtures of her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine, who proposed to procure a papal dispensation for her marriage with the King of France.³ It was even surmised that she was becoming more open to conviction on the subject of religion; and Randolph playfully accused her of beginning to savour of the Huguenots, requesting her to take counsel of his sovereign. "This must be," said Mary, "when I come to England;" alluding to their long intended

¹ Wemyss castle, on the shore of the Firth of Forth in Fife.

² "His courteous dealing with all men deserved great praise, and is well spoken of." MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Leicester, 19th February, 1564-5. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 27th February, 1564-5.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, March 4, 1564-5.

interview. The ambassador asked when that would be. "Whenever your mistress wishes it," was the answer; "and as to marriage, my husband must be such a one as she will give me." He alluded to Leicester. "Of that matter," she replied, "I will say no more till I see greater likelihood; but no creature living shall make me break more of my will than my good sister, if she will use me as a sister; if not, I must do as I may."¹

Whilst Mary was thus open and candid with the English ambassador, Moray, in still more urgent terms, implored him to bring matters to a conclusion, and persuade his royal mistress to acknowledge Mary's title, and expedite the marriage with Leicester. If this took place, he was content, he said, to lose (as he must do) much of his power and honour, for the satisfaction of having discharged his duty; but if he failed in this, it was almost certain ruin. The queen would dislike and suspect him, because he had deceived her with promises which he could not realize: he was the counsellor and adviser of that line of policy which, for the last five years, had been pursued towards England; he it was that had induced her to defer to Elizabeth, to desert her ancient friends, to renounce every foreign offer. "If," said he, "she marry any other than Leicester, what mind will the new king bear me, that knoweth I have so strongly opposed his advancement. If he be a Papist, either we must obey, or fall into new misery and difficulty, whilst I shall be regarded as the ringleader of the discontented. But what need to say more of this, you have often heard me say as much before; and yet we see nothing but drift of time, delays from day to day, to do all for nothing and to

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, March 4, 1564-5.

get nothing for all.”¹ In the same spirit, Lethington besought Cecil to act with more stoutness and courage, and bring the matter to a conclusion. Elizabeth had described the Scottish ministers as transforming the negotiation too much into a matter of bargain: “they looked,” she said, “for her death, and hunted after a kingdom;” whilst she jocularly told Melvil, that Maitland, in his constant allusions to the succession, was, like a death-watch, ever ringing her knell in her ears. The secretary ably repelled this unworthy notion. “In good faith,” said he, “that is not my mistress’s meaning. Rather doth she seek, and we also, a probable reason to lay against the objections which shall be made in foreign nations contrary to this match; that they may see it is no vain or light conceit hath moved her to yield to the Queen of England’s request in her marriage. * * * The matter itself hath not so many difficulties, but you may soon remove them all if you list.”² In a later letter, he eloquently alludes to the honour which would redound to Cecil and himself, if their measures to promote the union of the two kingdoms by this marriage were at last successful. Such a stroke of policy, he remarked, would secure for them a more glorious memory, a more unfading gratitude in the ages to come, than belonged to those “who did most valiantly serve King Edward the First in his conquest, or King Robert the Bruce in his recovery of the country.”³

These fond anticipations of present felicity and

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, March 4, 1564-5. This conversation with Randolph took place at a dinner at the Earl of Moray’s, where none were present but the countess his wife, and Pitarrow the comptroller.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, Christmas day, 1564.

³ Ibid. February 1, 1564-5.

posthumous honour were not destined to be realized. It became at last necessary for Elizabeth to come to a decision ; and Randolph was instructed to impart to the Scottish queen her final resolution. It amounted to a peremptory and mortifying denial of every proposal of her ministers. She refused to recognise Mary's title, or to adopt any measures regarding her right of succession, till she had made up her own mind whether she would marry or not.¹ If Mary chose to accept Leicester as a simple earl, and trust to the after munificence of the English queen, she would not have any reason to repent her confidence : but this was the same vague and delusive expectation so long held out, which seemed to promise all, and actually meant nothing. The message of Elizabeth, in short, at once put an end to all negotiation. When Randolph communicated her letter to the Scottish queen, it was evident to him that she was deeply moved ; and he heard afterwards that their interview had been followed by a passionate fit of weeping.² Lethington at once declared, that after such a communication, no one could honestly advise Mary to delay ; and Moray, who seemed deeply disappointed, prognosticated a speedy dissolution of all friendship between the two queens. His knowledge of the character of his royal mistress led him to this conclusion. It was Mary's weakness to be hurried away by the predominating influence of some one feeling and object. Warm, generous, and confiding, but at the same time ambitious, and tenacious of her rights, it had been her favourite and engrossing object, for the last four years, to prevail upon Elizabeth to recognise her title

¹ Keith, p. 270.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 17th March, 1564-5.

to the English throne. With this view she had given credit to her professions, borne every delay with patience, checked the advances of foreign suitors, treated her nearest relatives with coldness, and promoted to the highest offices of wealth and power, those of her nobles who were most attached to England. Every thing had been sacrificed to an imprudent dependence upon the promises of Elizabeth. Almost to the very last she hoped against hope, and showed an affection which, to the piercing and suspicious eyes of Randolph, was sincere and unequalled.¹ Are we to wonder, that when she suddenly was awakened to the duplicity with which she had been treated — when, in a moment, the mask of pretended amity and affection, so long worn by the English queen, fell to the ground, and the features of fraud, falsehood, and selfishness, came out in all their deformity, Mary recoiled with mortification and disgust? Her confidence had been abused; she was the dupe of successful artifice; she might soon be the victim of intrigues of which she knew not the ramifications and extent. Can we be surprised that, under this state of mind, the reaction was immediate and violent. She had long submitted her opinion to others; she now determined to choose for herself. The influence of her uncles, and of the court of Rome, had been for years on the wane; she was not indisposed now to see it revived. The Protestant nobility and the reformed clergy had been treated ever since her arrival in her dominions with high favour, and the great body of her subjects who adhered to the ancient faith, were kept under and neglected; it was right now that the balance should be held with a more equal hand between them. Moray had been chosen by her as her chief minister and

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, March 15, 1564-5.

adviser since she left France; to him she had committed almost regal powers; she had pardoned his rebellion, had accumulated upon him estates and honours, and placed him at the very head of her nobles; she had committed herself to his guidance; it was by his advice she had shaped her policy towards England, it was the road marked out for her by him and Lethington that had led her on to mortification, insult, and defeat. Was it possible that she could continue to those two men the confidence with which she had formerly regarded them? was it unnatural that, when she discovered their entire devotedness to Elizabeth, she should begin to consider them as merely instruments in her hands, and regard them with suspicion and resentment? Yet, although these feelings must at this moment have influenced her secret resolutions, it was the unhappiness of Mary to be surrounded by those whom she could not trust, or to whom she dared not give power. Had she selected as her counsellors any of the wisest amongst the Roman Catholic clergy, the measure would have been probably met by an instantaneous rising of the people and the reformed preachers; whilst her nobility, alike Catholic and Protestant, had successively shown themselves venal, selfish, and treacherous. She was compelled, therefore, to temporize and conciliate; and when we consider the fearful elements by which she was surrounded—craft, cruelty, fanaticism, in their worst shapes, all the fierce and uncontrollable passions which marked a feudal age, and much of the refined vices which her subjects had imported in a lengthened and constant intercourse with France and the continent—it is difficult to withhold our pity from this still youthful queen, placed without advisers in a situation of such peril and responsibility.

It was necessary, however, to come to a determination. Mary had resolved already on a speedy marriage, and her mind naturally turned to Darnley. His descent was royal, his grandmother being the sister of Henry the Eighth, and his mother cousin-german to Queen Elizabeth.¹ At the installation of Lord Robert Dudley as Earl of Leicester, the reader may remember that Sir James Melvil saw Darnley, as first prince of the blood, bear the sword of state before the queen.² His own title to the throne of England was second only to that of the Queen of Scotland; he bore the royal name, and by a marriage with him, she believed that she would secure to their children an undoubted and unchallengeable title to the English crown. He was now in his nineteenth year; his conduct since his arrival in Scotland, if we may believe Randolph, (a witness whose feelings against him gives weight to his praise,) had been prudent and popular.³ He had come to the Scottish court not only with the full approbation, but with the warm recommendation of Elizabeth,⁴ and this queen had repeatedly assured Mary, that although she decidedly opposed her marriage to a foreign prince, she might choose any of her English nobility, and be certain of her approbation. When, therefore, she selected Darnley, the Scottish queen had reason to expect the approval of Elizabeth, and, if we except Knox and his party, the concurrence and support of all classes in the state. Nor, although Len-

¹ Darnley stood in the relation of cousin to Mary, though by the half-blood only. His mother, the Countess of Lennox, was daughter of Archibald earl of Angus by the widow of James the Fourth, consequently half-sister of James the Fifth, Mary's father.

² *Supra*, p. 259.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 27th February, 1564-5.

⁴ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Bedford to Cecil, 11th February, 1564-5.

nox and his son were both suspected of being Papists, could Mary augur that the English queen would be much dissatisfied on that account. At this very moment a negotiation was suspected to be carrying on for a marriage between England and France. Elizabeth, it was reported in the Scottish court, was every day manifesting a greater favour for the ceremonies of the Roman church ; she had determined to impose upon the English clergy a particular habit, copied from that worn by the clergy of the church of Rome. She had publicly reproved a preacher, desiring him to return to his text or to hold his peace ; she had been seen to wear a rosary and a crucifix ; and Bonner had affirmed, with impunity, that there was not one real bishop in England.¹ All this held out encouragement to Mary : it was soon manifest that her choice was fixed on Darnley ; and in a dangerous and infectious illness which seized him about this time, she attended him in person with the utmost care, earnestness, and affection, sitting up with him till midnight, watching his convalescence, and showing delight at his recovery.² In a sister to a favourite brother, such devotedness would have been commendable ; in a queen to her subject, and still more in an affianced mistress to her future husband, it was undignified and indecorous, and gave a handle to the injurious constructions of her enemies. But it was the misfortune of her ardent disposition that she was always under the domination of some strong and engrossing feeling, which sometimes led her to disregard appearances, and to believe she could never sacrifice enough for the object of her approval ; nor did she think of the miserable effects

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 30th March, 1565.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Bedford to Cecil, 23d April, 1565.

of such flattery and attention upon the youth who was exposed to it. To be thus cherished by a queen, and the most beautiful woman in Europe—by her for whose hand so many kings and princes had sued ; to have love, honour, and power, soliciting his acceptance ; to be raised from a subject to supreme command, and to find a crown dropping on his head, would have been trying to the best balanced and the firmest mind : are we to wonder that, on the weak and unstable disposition of Darnley, it operated with fatal and almost instantaneous effect ? He became proud and overbearing ; and, treating the ancient nobility with neglect, attached himself principally to Riccio the queen's secretary for her French correspondence, an Italian, who, being first introduced into the royal household as a musician, had been promoted to this office in consequence of the disgrace of Raulet, her former French secretary.¹ He began also to show symptoms of a passionate and unmanageable temper ; talked with great imprudence of the strong party he had in England ;² declared openly that Moray's power was exorbitant and dangerous ; and made himself in a short time so many enemies, that it was whispered he must soon either change his conduct or lose his life.³ Nor were the consequences of this extraordinary favour shown to Lennox and his son less injurious in other quarters. Those who knew best the disposition of the queen, began to dread that these nobles would wrest from her the whole power in the state, and that she would herself become nothing but a passive instru-

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, March 4, 1564-5.
Ibid. same to same, 15th January, 1564-5.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 21st May, 1565.
Also, ibid. MS. letter, same to same, 3d May, 1565.

³ Randolph to Cecil, 20th March, 1564-5, printed in Keith, p. 274.
Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 3d June, 1565.

ment in effecting their purposes of ambition and aggrandizement. The Duke of Chastelherault, under whose regency Lennox had been banished and forfeited, anticipated the total ruin of his house ; the party of the Protestants, led by Knox and the preachers, cried out “that they were undone.” Moray, with the design of strengthening his faction, but under colour of his aversion to the Popish ceremonies, retired from court ; and Randolph reported that the people were universally discontented,¹ whilst he hinted, that if Elizabeth felt herself disposed to raise factions in Scotland, and embroil that country, there never was a fitter time to carry her wishes into execution.² Even this was not all : many brought an accusation against Elizabeth, from which her minister found it difficult to defend her. It was affirmed that she had herself sent Darnley into Scotland, with a purpose to bring about the very events which had occurred ; that her object was to hinder any potent foreign alliance, to match the queen meanly, and to interrupt the friendly intercourse between the two kingdoms.³

In the midst of these unpleasant rumours and surmises, Mary despatched Lethington to the English court, with injunctions to communicate her resolution regarding Darnley, and to use all his influence to procure the approbation of the queen. He arrived at Westminster on the 18th of April, and, as he had anticipated, found Elizabeth not only hostile to the projected alliance, but expressing herself with much bitterness against the Scottish queen. She submitted

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 17th March, 1564-5. Also, same to same, MS. letter, State-paper Office, 18th April, 1565. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Bedford to Cecil, 28th April, 1565.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 15th April, 1565.

³ Ibid. 18th April, 1565.

the proposal to her privy council ; and after long deliberations, they declared themselves unanimously opposed to it, pronouncing the measure “ prejudicial to both the queens, and consequently dangerous to the weal of both countries.”¹ What these dangers were, the councillors did not think proper to describe ; nor do we learn from any contemporary letters that Lethington exerted his ingenuity to dissipate this alarm.

In the meantime, during his absence, some important events were taking place in Scotland. Bothwell, the mortal enemy of Moray, returned suddenly from France ; but the suspicions of treason under which he lay, and the reports which had reached the queen’s ears of his abandoned and profligate character, induced her to treat him with the utmost severity.² The Earl of Moray, whose life he had repeatedly threatened, demanded justice ; and Mary summoned him to stand his trial for high treason, in conspiring with the Earl of Arran, three years before, to seize the person of the queen. These events were communicated by Randolph to Cecil, in this graphic and interesting letter, from which (although coloured with his own views and prejudices) we may understand something of the state of parties in Scotland. He first alludes to the expected trial of Bothwell. “ Upon Tuesday, at night, (the 1st of May,) there came to this town my Lords of Moray and Argyle, to keep the day of law against the Earl Bothwell, who appeared not, nor is it yet for certain known what is become of him, though the common report is, that he embarked at North Berwick. The company that came to this town in favour of my Lord of Moray, are esteemed five or six thousand, and for

¹ 1st May, 1565. Keith, pp. 270, 274, 275.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Bedford to Cecil, 24th March, 1564-5.

my part, I assure your honour, I never saw a greater assembly. More also had come, saving that they were stayed by the queen, who hath showed herself now of late to mislike that my Lord of Moray so earnestly pursueth him, [Bothwell,] and will not give his advice to take the like advantage upon some others, whom she beareth small affection unto.

“ In this matter thus far they have proceeded : upon Wednesday he was called, and for lack of appearance was condemned in the sum ; farther the queen would not that the justice-clerk should proceed, which hath bred so much misliking, and given occasion of such kind of talk against her grace, for bearing with such men in her own cause,¹ that that which is already spoken passeth all measure.”

This was an unfair representation of Randolph. The queen, instead of showing good will to Bothwell, was strongly prejudiced against him ; and, in consequence of his coarse and violent conduct, had recently declared he should never receive favour at her hands.² As to the accusation of a conspiracy, it may be remembered that Arran, when he made the disclosure, 31st March, 1562,³ was mad : he then implicated not only Bothwell, but his own father, and had continued insane ever since. What evidence Moray had collected during the lapse of nearly three years we cannot tell ; but as this potent accuser came to attend the trial with an army of five thousand men, Bothwell justly considered that his life would be in danger if he appeared, and sent his kinsman, Hepburn of Whitsum,

¹ In an affair where the crown was prosecutor. See the Summons of Treason. Pitcairn, Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 462*.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 30th March, 1564-5. Bothwell had used coarse and scandalous epithets in speaking of the queen herself. So Randolph affirms in this letter.

³ *Supra*, pp. 212, 213.

to protest his innocence, and to declare his readiness to answer the charge when made quietly, without tumult or intimidation.¹

The ambassador proceeds to notice the obstinacy of the queen, the discontent of her subjects, and the threatenings which began to circulate, “that if good advice was despised, remedy must be sought by sharper means. This,” he continues, “is not the voice of one or two; they are not the meanest that spake it, nor the unlikeliest to put it in execution, if that way they go to work. I write that but shortly, which in many words and by many men I have heard. * * * The speech of this marriage to any of them all, as divers ways I have attempted to know their mind, is so much contrary to their desires, that they think their nation dishonoured, the queen shamed, and country undone.

“A greater plague to herself and them there cannot be—a greater benefit to the queen’s majesty could not have chanced, than to see this dishonour fall upon her, and to have her so matched, as it shall pass her power at any time to attain unto that which hitherto so earnestly she looked for * * *. She is now, to be short, almost in utter contempt of her people, and so far herself in doubt of them, that without some speedy redress, worse is to be feared. Many grievous and sore words have of late escaped her against the duke. Mortally she hateth my Lord of Argyle; and so far suspecteth my Lord of Moray, that, not many days since, she said, ‘that she saw whereabout he went, and that he would set the crown upon his own head.’ How these men have need to look unto themselves, your honour doth perceive.

“To this point it is come, that my Lord of Moray,

¹ Pitcairn, vol. i. p. 464*.

and Argyle, will at no time be in the court together, that, if need be, the one may relieve or support the other. The duke is content to live at home, and thinketh himself happy if he may die in his bed. The preachers look daily, by some means or other, to have their lives taken from them, or to be commanded to silence, as already she hath done one, Mr Thomas Drummond, a godly and learned young man, that preached at Dunblane.

“ With my Lord of Argyle there came to this town the Lord David, the duke’s son, with most part of the duke’s friends. Assured bands and promises are made between the duke and Lord of Moray, that nothing shall be attempted against each other, but it shall be defended to the uttermost of their powers. The Earl of Glencairn having been required by the Earl of Lennox to enter into the like band, hath refused it, and joined with the duke. My Lord of Morton this time was absent, but so misliked, that I have not heard any man worse spoken of. He is now in hopes that my lady’s grace [the Countess of Lennox] will give over her rights of Angus, and so [he] will become friend to that side. In this Lethington laboureth, not much to his own praise. The Lord Ruthven, Lethington’s chief friend, is wholly theirs, and chief counsellor amongst them. Suspicions do rise on every side, in which I have my part, as of late, because I was at the west border, and am thought to practise with the Master of Maxwell—I know not what myself. My Lord of Moray was willed not to have to do with me; and when he said, ‘ he could not choose but speak well of me,’—‘ Well,’ saith she, [the queen,] ‘ if you will, let not Argyle have to do with him : ’ for all that, I have supped twice with my Lord of Moray. My Lord of Argyle took the pains to come to my lodging : he

brought with him the Lord David. He hath been plain, and, to be short, misliketh all. * * * The country is now so far broken, that there is daily slaughter, without redress, between the Scots and Elliots—stealing at all hands, and justice almost nowhere.

“ Now, touching Mr Fowler, [the confidential servant of Lennox,] he came, as I wrote, upon Saturday at night, late. He communed long that night with the queen and his lordship, and brought her grace a letter of five or six sheets of paper, all in cipher, from the Lord of Lethington. Thus much is known, that the queen’s majesty hath an utter misliking of the matter: what else is contained in the same letter, few, I believe, will come by the knowledge. Part of it was shown to my Lord of Moray; the rest, at his departure from her grace, was not deciphered. Fowler hath reported that the queen’s majesty [Elizabeth] should say openly that she had no liking of the matter, and that if it took effect, then the duke should be put down within one month after, and the good Protestants driven out of the country, which she would not suffer. These words are now in many men’s mouths, and many glad to hear it, and believe it the better because that he doth report it.

“ Through this and somewhat else that I have spoken, many are now well satisfied of the queen’s majesty that he was not sent hither for any such purpose as now undoubtedly shall take effect. Whatsoever may be borne in hand, that it shall no farther than the queen’s majesty’s will is, and doth assent to, I know it already past that point. It may be said, that my Lord of Moray may be the doer and the contriver thereof, which I know to be otherwise; for if that had been, he would not have refused to have been

present at the assurance and contract making. I know much more than this, but I trust this will suffice you for that part.

“ What practices are in hand, or how long this matter hath been a brewing, I know not; but this I know hath been said by the father, that he is sure of the greatest part in England, and that the King of Spain will be his friend. If this be their fetch, your honour knoweth what time it is to look about you. How little is to be feared from hence, and what her power is at this time, she standing in such terms as she doth, your honour is not ignorant of.

“ It is feared that her majesty [Elizabeth] will over soon allow hereof, and over hastily accord unto this queen’s desire, at least it is wished that there may be some open show of her majesty’s discontentment. Lethington is suspected to favour more that way (I mean to my Lord Darnley) than he would seem; and yet, I assure you, he is scarcely trusted amongst them, [Lennox’s party,] and of late despiteful words have been spoken against him, upon certain words which he wrote to my Lord Moray, that he should persuade the queen to make no haste in the matter, but keep it in the stay it was when he left it.

“ The chief dealers in these matters, are David Riccio the Italian, Mingo valet-de-chambre, Athole and Ruthven, whom I should have named first.

“ Thus your honour seeth our present estate, and how things do frame amongst us. So much pride, such excess in vanities, so proud looks and despiteful words, and so poor a purse, I never heard of. My Lord of Lennox is now quite without money; he borrowed five hundred crowns of my Lord of Lethington, and hath scarcely enough now to pay for his horse meat; if he have no more from you, we shall see him presently

put to his shifts. His men are bolder and saucier, both with the queen's self and many noblemen, than ever I thought could have been borne: divers of them now resort to the mass, and glory in their doings. Such pride is noted in the father and the son, that there is almost no society or company amongst them. My young lord, lying sick in his bed, hath already boasted the duke to knock his pate when he is whole. * * * *

"I write these things with more sorrow and grief of mind than in any passion or affection to any part, [farther] than that I am desirous that the work wherein I have been a labourer almost six years, with care, sorrow, and greater burden than I have been able to bear, which is to maintain a perfect amity between my native country and this, should not be overthrown and quite destroyed, nor that the good will which my mistress hath gotten through her deserts amongst this people, should here take an end when most desired, and most earnestly looked for. Before, she was their friend against foreign nations; now the danger is as great at home. Other refuge they have none—to none more willing to obey, and of her majesty alone they desire support: counsel is now more worth than men or money. * *

"This day [Thursday, 3d May] the chief of the Protestants that at this time are present with the ministers, assembled in the church. Consultation was had what order might be put unto that confusion that had grown up, wherein every man might do and say what he would without reproof against God's glory and his Word. Their deliberation contained three heads: first, How to remove idolatry out of the realm, containing in that as well the queen's chapel as others; next, That her own laws might be put in execution

without offence; the third, That liberty might be granted, without inhibition or reproof, to such as are admitted to preach the true Word of God. Long reasoning hath been hereupon. It was determined that the request should be put in writing, and certain appointed as messengers for the rest. More hereof your honour shall know hereafter."¹

In perusing this letter, we must beware of giving implicit confidence to the representations of Randolph. The picture it conveys of universal discontent, and the symptoms of rising wrath and incipient rebellion which it describes, were coloured highly to suit the purposes of this crafty minister, and to favour the views of the English faction. The Duke, Moray, and Argyle, with Knox, and all, or the greater portion of the Protestants, were, no doubt, violently opposed to the marriage, and had already adopted precautions, not only for their own defence, but had begun to repeat the same game which they had already played so successfully. They had solicited Randolph to procure for them the support and countenance of the English queen, and had declared their readiness to rise in arms against their sovereign. All this was true; but when this minister asserted, that the union with Darnley was odious to the whole nation: when he represented the queen as having fallen into universal contempt; and when he described the lives of the Protestant preachers as being in danger, from the measures adopted against them, he stated what was contradicted by subsequent events, and even disproved by his own letters. It was soon seen that Mary, if she had some enemies, had also many powerful friends. Besides Lennox and his son, now restored to their estates, and,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 3d May, 1565.

with their lands, to great feudal strength, she could reckon firmly on the support of the Earls of Athole and Caithness, the Lords Hume and Ruthven, with the Lord Robert, and all the ancient barons and families who were still secretly attached to the Catholic religion.¹ It was surmised, also, that Lethington, whose counsel and experience were of such value to any party which he cordially embraced, would be unwilling to declare openly against her; and the mind of the queen herself, far from being overwhelmed by the difficulties which surrounded her, seemed to gain energy by the struggle, and led her to act with a promptitude, spirit, and vigour, for which her opponents were not prepared.

Before, however, she proceeded to more decisive measures, she resolved to make a last attempt to gain Moray, and obtain his consent to her marriage with Darnley. He was flattered and caressed, both by the queen and the Earl of Lennox, but to little effect. Mary then, seizing a moment when he was off his guard, and in Lord Darnley's chamber, took him aside and placed a paper in his hands, to which she required him to put his name. It contained an approval of her marriage, and an engagement to promote it with his whole power, and this she insisted he should consent to, as he would show himself her faithful subject, and avoid her displeasure. Moray firmly, but respectfully, declined. "Her resolution," he said, "was over hasty, and her demand upon him too sudden and peremptory. What would foreign princes think of such precipitation? What must be the opinion of the Queen of England, with whom her ambassador was even then in treaty, and whose answer she daily

¹ Keith, p. 272.

expected? But most of all," he said, "he would be loath to consent to the marriage of any one, of whom there was so little hope that he would be a favourer of Christ's true religion, which was the thing most to be desired—of one who hitherto had shown himself rather an enemy than a preserver of the same."¹ Indignant and surprised at this refusal, Mary remonstrated, entreated, and even threatened: but all was to no purpose. To her "many sore words," he replied with great calmness and humility; yet he continued firm in his resolution, and was dismissed from the presence of his sovereign with a bitter accusation of ingratitude, and expressions of her high resentment.

This interview occurred on the 8th of May, and the queen summoned a convention of her nobility to meet at Stirling on the 15th of the same month. Her object was, to obtain their consent to her marriage previous to the return of Lethington with the answer of Elizabeth; and to accomplish this, she despatched Beaton, a gentleman in whom she had much confidence, with new instructions, to be delivered to her secretary. They were drawn up in terms very different from his first commission. Mary commanded him to return to the Queen of England, and declare unto her that, since she had been so long trained with fair speeches, and in the end beguiled of her expectation, she had now resolved, with the advice of the estates of her realm, to use her own choice in her marriage, and to select such a one as, in her opinion, should be most worthy of the honour to which he was to be raised. The letter which contained these instructions was written wholly by herself. "It wanted," says Throckmorton, who had seen the original, "neither eloquence, despite,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, May 8, 1565.

anger, love, nor passion,"¹ and was evidently dictated by a keen feeling of the ingratitude, duplicity, and selfishness, with which she had been treated by Elizabeth. He was also directed, after he had finished his negotiation in England, to pass over to France, and use his influence there to procure from the French king and that court an approval of her choice. To induce her secretary to enter cordially into her views, Mary at the same time wrote to him with her own hand, "the most favourable and gentle letter that ever queen did address to her servant." She sent him also a bill of credit, on the receivers of her dowry in France, empowering him to draw for any sum he pleased, and, in the event of his success in this mission, promised him the highest preferment which it was in her power to bestow.²

Before, however, her messenger could reach London, Lethington had left that city on his return, and Elizabeth had despatched Sir Nicholas Throckmorton (her late ambassador in France) on a mission to Scotland. He was instructed to communicate to the Scottish queen the resolution of the English privy council, to notify her entire disapproval of her union with Darnley, and to take measures to prevent its precipitate consummation. When on the way to the English court, Beaton encountered Lethington near Newark, and communicated his message to the Scottish secretary. Nothing can more strikingly show the treachery of Mary's ministers, and the entire license they assumed of disobeying, when it was convenient for them, the commands of their sovereign, than Lethington's conduct on this occasion. He heard the message, received the queen's letters, put them in his pocket, refused

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Throckmorton to Cecil and Leicester, 11th May, 1565.

² Ibid.

alike to return to London, or to pass into France, and posting forward with all speed, overtook Throckmorton at Alnwick. Here he basely communicated to him the secret instructions he had received ; and breaking into expressions of extreme rage and indignation towards his royal mistress, regretted that the English ambassador was not empowered to denounce war against her, in case she resolved to proceed in this marriage with those whom he denominated the rebels of the English queen.¹ The two ambassadors then pursued their journey towards Scotland in company. “ He was enjoined,” said Throckmorton, (speaking of Lethington, and writing to Leicester and Cecil,) “ to stay me, that I should not come into Scotland, and contrary to that, he will not go without me.”² Are we to wonder that, when Mary’s affairs were managed by such men, she was anxious to change her counsellors, and to seek for fidelity in another faction.

In the meantime, the convention of the nobility, which had been summoned to deliberate upon the marriage, assembled at Stirling on the 15th May. It was most numerously attended, and included, with the exception of Lord Ochiltree and a few others, the whole of the most influential nobles in the kingdom. There were present the duke, with the Earls of Argyle, Moray, Morton, Glencairn, Athole, Crawford, Eglinton, Cassillis, Rothes, and Caithness ; the Lords Hume, Gray, Glammis, Borthwick, Yester, Fleming, Livingston, Semple, Ross, Lindsay, Lovat, Boyd, and Somerville. Besides these, there were the officers of state, including the secretary, the justice-clerk, the treasurer, and the advocate, with the Commandators³ of Holy-

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Throckmorton to Cecil and Leicester, 11th May, 1565.

² Ibid.

³ A Commandator was any clergyman who held a vacant benefice till it was provided with a sufficient pastor.

rood, Kilwinning, Jedburgh, St Colm's Inch, and Balmerinoch.¹ At this solemn assembly of her nobles, the queen announced her intention of marrying Darnley; and the measure was approved of without a dissentient voice. Moray and his faction, whose real sentiments were strongly hostile to such a proceeding, appear to have been overawed into a temporary consent, whilst the great majority of her barons admitted its expediency, and advised that it should be carried into effect.² Thus confirmed in her purpose, Mary on the same day conferred the honour of knighthood upon Darnley, and immediately after created him Lord of Ardmanach and Earl of Ross. He then took the oaths, was girt with the sword, and, on rising from his knees before the queen, himself bestowed the dignity of knighthood upon fourteen gentlemen of ancient and loyal families, who knelt before the throne.³ In the midst of these proceedings, word was brought that Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, ambassador of the Queen of England, was then at the gate of the castle, and urgently demanded an audience. On being admitted, he delivered, in strong language, the remonstrance of his royal mistress: he expressed her surprise at the unadvised proceedings of the Scottish queen; and complained loudly of the presumption of Lennox and Darnley, her own subjects, who, without giving her any previous notice, had dared to engage in such an enterprise. To this Mary replied with great calmness and dignity. She said, "that as soon as she had formed her resolution on the subject of her marriage, she had communicated her intentions to Elizabeth,

¹ Keith, p. 277.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 11th May, 1565.

³ Keith, pp. 278-280, inclusive. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 21st May, 1565.

which was all that she had ever promised to do. As to her good sister's great dislike to the match," she observed sarcastically, "that this was indeed a marvellous circumstance, since the selection was made in conformity to the queen's wishes, as communicated by Mr Randolph. She had rejected all foreign suitors, and had chosen an Englishman, descended from the blood-royal of both kingdoms, and the first prince of the blood in England; and one whom she believed would, for these reasons, be acceptable to the subjects of both realms."¹

It was difficult for the ambassador to answer this temperate remonstrance, which he knew to be founded in truth; and as the queen treated him with much courtesy, and agreed to postpone the ceremony of creating Darnley duke of Albany, till she heard again from Elizabeth, he judged it right neither to push matters to an extremity, nor to hold out any encouragement to her discontented nobles.

The English queen, however, resorting to severer and more decided measures, ordered Lady Lennox into custody, having suspected her of intriguing with the Earl of Northumberland and other leaders of the Papists in England. At the same time, she again (12th June, 1565) submitted to her privy council the question of the marriage of the Scottish queen. Their decision, as it is preserved in the original draft by Cecil, is of much importance, in the light it throws on the state of parties in England. Two questions were propounded to the council: 1st, What perils might ensue to the queen's majesty and her realm, upon the marriage of the Queen of Scotland with Lord Darnley? 2d, What was meet to be done to avoid the same?

¹ Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 21st May, 1565, printed in Keith, p. 278.

"The perils," says Cecil, in his minute of what took place, "being sundry and very many, were reduced by some councillors to only two: 1st, That by this marriage, the queen's majesty being unmarried, a great number in this realm, not of the worst subjects, might be alienated in their minds from their natural duties to her majesty, to depend upon the success of this marriage of Scotland, as a mean to establish the succession of both the crowns in the issue of the same marriage, and to favour all devices and practices that should tend to the advancement of the Queen of Scots."

Under the second peril it was observed, "That, considering the chief foundation of that [party] which favoured the marriage with the Lord Darnley was laid upon the trust of such as were Papists, as the only mean left to restore the religion of Rome, it was plainly to be seen that, both in this realm and in Scotland, the Papists would most favour, maintain, and fortify, the marriage of the Lord Darnley; and would, for furtherance of their faction in religion, devise all means and practices that could be within this realm, to disturb the estate of the queen's majesty and the peace of the realm, and, consequently, to achieve their purpose by force rather than fail."

The paper proceeds to point out, by way of warning to Elizabeth, that when Mary's power was the greatest, namely, during her marriage with the dauphin, she evinced her real mind to dispossess that princess of her title, both by assuming the style and arms of England, and by troops sent into Scotland to accomplish her ambitious purposes. It then proceeds in these remarkable words:—"It is also to be remembered, that seeing now, before this attempt of marriage, it was found and manifestly seen, that in every corner of the realm the

faction that most favoureth the Scottish title is grown stout and bold, yea, seen manifestly in this court, both in hall and chamber, it could not be but (except good heed were speedily given to it) the same faction would speedily increase by this marriage, and by the practice of the fautor [author] thereof, and grow so great and dangerous, as the redress thereof would be almost desperate. And to this purpose it was to be remembered, how, of late, in perusing of the substance of the Justices of Peace in all the counties of the realm, *scantly a third part was found fully assured to be trusted in the matter of religion*, upon which only string the Queen of Scots' title doth hang ; and some doubts might be that the friends of the Earl of Lennox had more knowledge of this than was meet, and thereby made their vaunt now in Scotland, that their party was so great in England that the queen's majesty dared not attempt to oppose the marriage." In this sort was the sum of the perils declared.

Upon the second question, What was best to be done to avoid these dangers? it was determined, that the first way was to obtain that the queen's majesty would marry, and hold them with no long delay ; secondly, That measures should be taken to advance and fortify the profession of religion, both in Scotland and in England ; third, That proceedings should be commenced, either altogether to break off this intended marriage, or at least to procure the same not to be so hurtful to the realm as otherwise it might be ; and lastly, That some intelligence should be used in Scotland with the party opposed to the marriage, and comfort given them from time to time.¹

It will be seen from this authentic paper, that the

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, original draft by Cecil, June 4, 1565.

apprehensions entertained regarding the effects of this union with Darnley upon the Popish faction in England (which was far stronger than is generally believed) were not altogether ideal. There seem to have been two parties amongst the English Protestants who viewed the match with different feelings. Elizabeth herself, with the Earl of Leicester, and the powerful anti-Cecilian faction which supported him, were suspected to regard the marriage with no great dislike, although for the moment she judged it prudent to dissemble, and to appear deeply offended. It delivered the English queen from the fear that Mary should make some potent foreign alliance, with Austria or Spain, and it kept at court her favourite Leicester. These sentiments, too, were well known at the Scottish court, and Randolph was repeatedly met by the observation, that the resentment of his royal mistress was mere dissimulation.¹ But the other party were more sincere and determined in their opposition. Cecil, Bedford, and Randolph, had deeply intrigued with Scotland; they believed that the overthrow of their friends, the Earls of Moray, Argyle, and Lethington, would put an end to English influence in that country; they dreaded lest Lennox and Darnley might in time be won over by the queen to re-establish the Romish faith, which it was known they secretly professed, and they adopted every means to thwart the designs of the Scottish queen. Nor were these means of the purest or most upright kind: as long as Mary, deceived and drawn on by the protestations and duplicity of Elizabeth, placed herself under the guidance of this princess, she

¹ Throckmorton to Sir William Cecil, 21st May, 1565, printed in Keith, p. 280. Also, Randolph to Cecil, 2d July, printed in Keith, p. 288. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 15th April, 1565. Ibid. same to same, 29th April, 1565.

was represented in the letters of Randolph, as amiable, truthful, affectionate, and popular. The Protestants were described as contented, excepting only the most violent, whose conduct this envoy repeatedly censures; and, (which is very remarkable,) not a year before this, both Moray and Lethington had assured the Queen of England, that the conduct of their royal mistress in respect to the reformed religion entitled her to high praise : its foundation, they said, was perfectly secure ; whilst they enjoyed liberty of conscience, and the favour of their prince, as abundantly as heart could wish.¹ From that moment till the present, not a step had been taken by the Queen of Scotland which could create suspicion in any reasonable mind, that she meditated aught against the national religion. On the contrary, the Catholic party had been treated with undue severity ; the private exercise of her religion had been threatened to be abridged ; the sanctity of her chapel and her palace invaded ; and the laws against the mass carried into the strictest execution, even where the offenders were of the highest rank in the church. These were all facts with which Randolph the English minister was perfectly familiar, and which can be proved from his own letters. Yet no sooner did Mary fix her choice on Darnley ; no sooner did it become apparent to Moray that his power was on the wane, and to Randolph that the English faction in Scotland was likely to lose ground and to be superseded in their authority, than the letters of this pliant envoy abounded with complaints and misrepresentations. The reformed religion was described as not only in danger, but already ruined, and the godly undone ; the queen was said to be fallen into universal contempt ; we are told, that her whole character had altered within a few days,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Moray to Cecil, 13th July, 1564.

that even her countenance and beauty were decayed, so that many thought she was bewitched: and lastly, that an irresistible party had resolved to oppose the marriage and avert the ruin of their country.

The events which now occurred, and the conduct respectively pursued by Mary, the Protestants, and Elizabeth, proved these statements to be exaggerated and unfounded. The measures of the Scottish queen, under an irritating opposition, were temperate and conciliating. She sent Hay, her Master of Requests, a prudent and able man, a favourer of Moray, and a friend of Randolph, on a mission to the English queen. He was to labour not only to reconcile Elizabeth to her union with Darnley, but to state her anxiety to preserve peace, her resolution to postpone her marriage for a short time, and her desire that there should be a meeting of commissioners from both countries, to deliberate on the best means of composing the differences which had occurred.¹ On the other hand, the Protestants, led by Moray and Argyle, attempted to overawe their sovereign; they solicited earnestly the assistance of the English queen, and debated among themselves, whether it would be best to assassinate Darnley, or to seize him and his father, and deliver them up to England. Some time before the mission of Hay, Randolph, describing the pride and passionate temper of this young favourite, thus writes to Cecil: “ Her [Mary’s] counsellors are now those whom she liked worst, the nearest of her kin, the farthest from her heart. My Lord of Moray liveth where he lists; my Lord of Lethington hath now both leave and time enough to make court unto his mistress.” * * David is he that now worketh

¹ Keith, p. 283. Instructions to Mr John Hay. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 12th June, 1565. Ibid. Mary to Elizabeth, St Johnston, 15th June, 1565.

² Ibid.

all, chief secretary to the queen, and only governor to her good man : the bruits here are wonderful, men talk very strange, the hazard towards him and his house marvellous great ; his pride intolerable, his words not to be borne, but where no man dare speak again. He spareth not also, in token of his manhood, to let some blows fly where he knoweth that they will be taken. Such passions, such furies, as I hear say, that sometimes he will be in, is strange to believe. What cause this people hath to rejoice of this their worthy prince, I leave it to the world to think. When they have said all, and thought what they can, they find nothing but that God must send him a short end, or themselves a miserable life, to live under such estate and government as this is like to be ! What comfort can they look for at the queen's majesty's hands, or what support, if aught should be attempted, seeing the most part are persuaded that to this end he was sent into this country. I spare here to speak so much as I have heard ; and knowing so little of the queen's mind as I do, I know not what counsel or advice to give." The letter then alludes to the great hazard of Moray and his party in these remarkable words. "To see so many in hazard, as now stand in danger of life, land, and goods, it is great pity to think ; only to remedy this mischief he [Darnley] must be taken away, or such as he hateth find such support, that whatsoever he intendeth to another may light upon himself. A little now spent in the beginning, yieldeth double fruit. What were it for the queen's majesty, if she list not to do it by force, with the expense of three or four thousand pounds to do with this country what she would."¹

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Leicester, 3d June, 1565.

The proceedings of Elizabeth were at this moment marked by that duplicity and desire to embroil Mary with her own subjects, which had all along characterized them. She had already placed the Countess of Lennox under restraint, but she now committed her to the Tower; a severity which could not fail to encourage Moray and his friends.¹ She sent a summons to the Earl of Lennox and his son Lord Darnley, commanding them, on their allegiance as English subjects, instantly to repair to her court.² Not long after, she addressed a letter to the Scottish queen, declaring her entire disapproval of her proceedings; and she instructed Randolph not only directly to communicate with Moray's faction, but to assure them that she would support them against the malice of their enemies, as long as their efforts were directed to maintain the religion, and to preserve the amity between the two kingdoms.³

Nothing upon the part of Moray could be more futile and unfounded than the pretence that the Protestant religion was in danger, or that the queen at this moment had adopted any measures which threatened its security. It is happy for the truth, that on such a point we have the declaration of Moray and Lethington themselves. On the 13th July, 1564, they stated to Cecil, that the presence of Lennox in Scotland, even if he should be fortunate enough to ally himself with the most powerful person in the state, would be totally ineffectual to shake the national religion from that firm foundation on which it rested.⁴ These declarations,

¹ Mr Stevenson's Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary, p. 140.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary, 18th June, 1565. (A copy.)

³ The Queen of England to Randolph, 10th July, 1565. Printed by Keith, p. 296.

⁴ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lethington to Cecil, July 13, 1564. Also, ibid. Moray to Cecil, same date.

indeed, were made a year before this; but during the course of that year, not only had the Scottish queen introduced no one measure which could by any ingenuity be deemed an attack upon the national religion, but she had shown the most decided determination to support it as the religion of the state, and to enforce the cruel and unjust laws against those who adhered to the public exercise of a contrary faith. It is evident, therefore, that the Earl of Moray, and the party of the nobles who opposed the marriage, had raised the cry of “danger to the church” merely to cover their own designs.

The same remark does not apply to Knox, who, after his long estrangement from Moray, now once more acted in concert with him. To the stern uncompromising mind of this reformer, the mass was idolatry; so long as it maintained its place in the queen’s private chapel, he believed that the Protestant faith was in danger, and that in permitting its use, the preachers and the people committed a deadly sin. Moray had always contended for the right of the queen to have the private exercise of her religion; Knox had as obstinately denied it. He contended that, by the Word of God, and the laws of the land, every priest who dared to celebrate, and every person who ventured to attend, the mass, was obnoxious to capital punishment; and he evidently considered that the sufferance of the “idol,” as he named it, under any circumstances, was a direct infringement upon the rights and the security of the national religion. He is to be judged therefore by a different standard from that which must be applied to his ambitious and potent ally. Moray was the slave of private ambition: his paramount desire evidently was to retain the great power which he possessed; and in his efforts to effect this, he repeated the

same game which ambition has so often played : he masked his selfish projects under a zeal for religion. Knox, on the other hand, however fierce, dictatorial, and even unscrupulous as to means, was perfectly honest. No church plunder can be traced to his hands ; no pensions from England or France secured his services ; nor is there the slightest evidence (at least I have discovered none) that at any time he pursued a scheme of personal aggrandizement, separate from that spiritual authority which attached itself to him as the great leader of the Reformation. His character was great, irregular, and imperfect ; his views were often erroneous. In his mind many subjects assumed an undue importance and magnitude ; whilst others, especially those connected with the practical influence of the gospel upon the heart and conduct, were often neglected or forgotten. But in his public career he was consistent, fearless, sincere ; the single object to which he devoted himself was, to establish, on a sure foundation, what he believed to be the only true faith, the only form of worship consistent with the declarations of Scripture and the glory of God. It is needless to point out to what a height this raises him above Moray, Argyle, Lethington, and the crowd of venal barons by whom he was surrounded.

Mary had summoned a convention of her nobility to be held at St Johnston on the 22d of June.¹ It was her intention in this assembly to procure their final consent to her union with Darnley, and to fix the period of her marriage. Instead of obeying her wishes, the discontented barons vigorously exerted themselves to traverse all her schemes. Moray refused to come to Perth, alleging that his life was in danger from a

¹ Letter, Randolph to Cecil, in Keith, p. 287, 2d July, 1565.

conspiracy formed by Darnley; Argyle, in concert with Knox and the preachers, appointed the General Assembly of the church to be held at Edinburgh, whilst the convention was sitting at Perth. There seems to be no doubt that the faction of Moray and the party of Knox now acted in concert; and the Reformer, who possessed great influence with the people, bestirred himself so successfully against the queen, that, in a convocation of the citizens, held in the fields near Edinburgh, it was resolved to arm and organize the burgesses, to choose captains, and to seize the weapons of such as were believed favourable to the marriage. At the same time, after lengthened debates, the General Assembly drew up a supplication to their sovereign.¹ It requested that the blasphemous mass, and all Popish idolatry, should be abolished, not only throughout the kingdom, but also in her royal person and household; that true religion, as it is founded on the Word of God, should be professed as well by herself as by her subjects, and that it should be made obligatory upon all persons to resort to the preaching of the Word, and to prayers, if not every day, at least every Sunday. It proposed that some sure provision should be made for the support of the ministers of the gospel; that pluralities should be abolished; a strict examination instituted into the appointment of all teachers of youth in schools and colleges; a fund set apart for the maintenance of the poor, out of those lands which of old were destined to hospitality, and some relief devised for the poor labourers of the soil, who were oppressed in the payment of their tithes by unreasonable and illegal exactions.²

This petition was intrusted to the Earl of Glen-

¹ Spottiswood, p. 190.

² Ibid.

cairn, with five commissioners, who repaired to Perth, (1st July, 1565,) and presented it to the queen. Her conduct, at this crisis, is entitled to much praise. She was alarmed by the accounts of the hostile and tumultuous assembly of the citizens in Edinburgh; and when she read the demands of the church, it was evident that they approached indefinitely near to the compelling herself, and all who adhered to the Catholic faith, to renounce what they believed to be true, and embrace what they were persuaded was false. Yet her answer was temperate and conciliatory: she declared that it was impossible for her to renounce the mass herself, or to abolish it in her household, not being yet persuaded that there was any impiety in this great service of the church. She reminded the commissioners how completely liberty of conscience, since her arrival in her dominions, had been permitted to all her subjects, and she expected in return, she said, the same liberty to be granted to herself. As for the establishment of religion in the body of the realm, she declared that she was ready to abide by the decision of the three estates of parliament, as soon as they were convened, and to whom alone, as they were well aware, the determination of so important a question belonged.¹

A more gentle and reasonable reply to an extravagant demand, could hardly have been given; but the discontented lords were still unsatisfied: they were undone if the queen was left to follow her own wishes, and the marriage went forward; and acting under this conviction, they resolved either to compel her to submit to their dictation, or to put it out of her power to carry her designs into effect. With this purpose, Moray, Argyle, and Lord Boyd, held a secret meeting

¹ Spottiswood, p. 190. Keith, p. 289. Randolph to Cecil, 2d July, 1565.

at Lochleven,¹ and from thence sent a confidential messenger to communicate their designs to Randolph, and to understand from him, whether Elizabeth would receive Lennox and Darnley if they were seized, and sent prisoners to Berwick. The ambassador answered, that the queen his mistress would receive her own subjects "in what sort soever they came;" and thus encouraged, these daring men formed a plot to attack the Scottish queen as she rode, with Darnley in her company, from Perth to Callander, a seat of Lord Livingston's, near Falkirk. The route to be travelled afforded two favourable situations for such a surprise; the one a wild narrow defile near Perth, called the Pass of Dron,² the other a tract of broken and difficult ground near Beith, some miles north of the Queens-ferry. It was intended, according to Randolph's account, to have carried Mary to St Andrews, and Darnley to Castle Campbell; but these were only preliminary steps: Moray's ultimate object (if we may believe the assertion of a brother conspirator) was to murder Darnley, seize the government, and imprison the queen for life in Lochleven.³

This traitorous plot was signally defeated by the courage and celerity of Mary's movements. Having received some hint of her danger, she commanded Athole and Ruthven to assemble their followers; and leaving Perth with an escort of three hundred horse in the dawn of the morning, traversed the country with the utmost speed, passed Lochleven and Kinross without drawing bridle, pushed on to the ferry, and

¹ Mr Stevenson's Illustrations of the Reign of Mary, p. 118, Argyle and Moray to Randolph, 1st July, 1565.

² Knox, p. 412.

³ Randolph to Cecil, 4th July, 1565, in Keith, p. 291. Also, "Instructions and Articles addressed to the Commissioners of the Queen of Scots, 12th Sept. 1568." Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 358, 359.

crossing the Firth, reached Callander house in safety. Two hours after she passed, Argyle appeared at Kinross, but the prey had escaped him ; and their treacherous enterprise becoming publicly known, excited the utmost indignation in the country.¹ Disappointed in this attempt, Moray and his associates made a last endeavour to rouse the people. They resumed, in a still louder tone, the cry, that the queen was determined to overthrow religion, to break the amity which had of late united them to England, and to commence anew her persecution of the brethren. They implored the assistance and support of Elizabeth ; assured her that Bothwell, the mortal enemy of English influence, had been sent for ; besought her to let loose “ some strapping Elliots ” upon Lord Hume, Mary’s great partisan on the marches towards Lothian, who might keep his hands full at home ; and attempted to rouse her jealousy by spreading rumours of an intercourse with France and Rome.² But from neither quarter did they receive much sympathy or encouragement ; Elizabeth fed them with empty promises, the people grew lukewarm or suspicious. They were aware of no act upon the part of the queen which manifested hostility to their religion ; on the contrary, when at Callander, she had for the first time in her life attended the Protestant sermon. She declared her readiness to hear Erskine of Dun, one of the leading reformers, but a man of a mild and peaceable disposition, in his exposition of the errors of the church of Rome ; and she hastened, by a solemn proclamation, to assure her subjects, that no alteration was meditated in the national religion ; that the same liberty of conscience which, since her arrival in her

¹ Randolph to Cecil, in Keith, p. 291. Melvil’s Memoirs, p. 135.

² Randolph to Cecil, 4th July, 1565. Keith, pp. 294, 295.

dominions, had been enjoyed by all classes of her people, should still be maintained in its fullest sense.¹

At the same time, Mary exerted herself with uncommon vigour against the insurgent lords : as Argyle, her great enemy, and the most powerful ally of Moray, had collected his vassals, and was about to attack Athole, a nobleman who strenuously supported her, she despatched Lethington and the justice-clerk to arrest hostilities, and commanded them in her name to disband their forces.² Aware that a convocation of Moray's adherents was to be held at Glasgow, she sent a herald to that city, to forbid all such illegal assemblies under pain of treason ;³ and at the same time she prorogued the meeting of the three estates from July to September, justly thinking that it would have been vain and premature to attempt to hold a calm legislative assembly, whilst a powerful faction, assisted and stimulated by the intrigues of England, were plotting to raise a civil war, and seemed not unlikely to succeed. But her last measure was the most decisive of all. She summoned her subjects to meet her instantly in arms in the capital, with fifteen days' provision, that she might proceed against her enemies.⁴

Yet, whilst Mary felt herself compelled to adopt these severe proceedings against her insurgent barons, she made a final effort to reclaim Moray, the head of the revolt. He had refused to attend the convention at Stirling, alleging that his life was in danger, from

¹ MS. Privy-council Book, p. 73. It is printed in Keith, Appendix, pp. 106, 107.

² MS. Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, under July 6, 1565.

³ Ibid. under July 12, 1565.

⁴ Keith, p. 298. She at the same time addressed close letters to the principal nobles and gentry of her kingdom, requiring their instant attendance. Keith, p. 299.

a conspiracy of Lennox and Darnley. These noblemen indignantly repelled the charge ; and the Scottish queen, anxious to do justice to both parties, summoned him to appear, and make good his accusation. Lest he should plead that his obedience to her commands might expose him to the attacks of his enemies, she sent him her letters of safe-conduct.¹ This passport extended protection not only to him, but to eighty attendants—no insufficient body-guard certainly ; and to prevent all possibility of cavil, it was signed, not by the queen alone, but by all her privy council. At the same time Darnley transmitted a friendly message ; and Lennox, for himself and his son, not only disclaimed the base designs imputed to them, but besought him to give up his informer, and offered to fight any one who dared avow the slander.² This peremptory summons Moray did not think proper to obey, and his refusal was favourable to the cause of the queen. It warned Mary that nothing but open force could reduce her opponents ; and it convinced many who were wavering, that the alleged conspiracy was an invention of his own, equally unfounded with the alarm regarding the overthrow of the Protestant religion, and got up for the same purpose, of veiling his attempt for the recovery of the power which he had lost.

Meanwhile he had no mean assistant in Randolph. The character of this crafty agent of Cecil was of that accommodating and equivocal kind, which, without loving misrepresentation (to use a mild word) for its own sake, did not hesitate to employ it, when he thought it would forward the designs of his royal mistress, or of her principal minister. As long as all

¹ Keith, p. 108, Appendix ; Assurance to the Earl of Moray. Also, p. 110, Appendix.

² Keith, p. 302.

went smoothly in Scotland, as long as the queen, deceived by the promises of Elizabeth, and acting under the guidance of Moray, was willing to consult the wishes of her royal sister, the letters of Randolph convey to us a pretty fair picture of the conduct of Mary, and the progress of events; but as soon as she began to act for herself—as soon as her brother, the friend of England, was stript of his power and lost his influence, this minister transmitted to Cecil, and to the English queen, the most false and distorted accounts of the state of the country. His object was, to induce Elizabeth to assist the insurgent lords with money and troops, as she had already done in the war of the Reformation; and to accomplish this end, he not only concealed the truth, but did not scruple to employ calumny and falsehood. He represented Mary's proceedings to her nobles as tyrannical, when they were forbearing; he described her as earnestly bent on the destruction of religion, when for five years she had maintained it exactly as she found it on her arrival, and had recently, by a solemn proclamation, declared her determination to preserve the fullest liberty of conscience: he painted her as an object of contempt to her subjects, when she was popular and beloved; and as deserted by her nobles and her people, when, in consequence of the late summons, her barons and vassals were daily crowding into the capital.¹ On the other hand, Moray and his faction were equally falsely depicted as so strong, that the country lay at their mercy, whilst they waited only for the advice and the money of England, to sweep away every

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, July 7, 1565. Also, Keith, p. 301. Randolph to Cecil, 19th July, 1565. Again in Keith, p. 287, Randolph to Cecil, 2d July, 1565. Again in Keith, p. 304, Randolph to Cecil, 21st July, 1565. And MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to the Queen, 23d July, 1565.

opposition, and compel the queen to place herself once more at their disposal. These accounts, however, made little impression upon the English queen, and it is probable that she was aware of their being inconsistent with the truth. She directed her ambassador, however, to intercede for Moray; but the application, as might have been expected, met with no success. Mary thanked her good sister for her advice, but lamented that she should be so entirely misinformed. "Those," said she to Randolph, "whom your mistress calls my best subjects, I can never account so, as they resist my authority; and the queen must not be offended if I pursue the remedy which I have in my own hands."¹ The ambassador then addressed himself to Lennox and Darnley, reminding them of Elizabeth's peremptory order for their repair into England, and charging them, as her subjects, to obey it; but he met with a decided refusal—from the father in terms of respect, from the son in so proud and insolent a tone that Randolph turned his back upon him, and they parted in contempt and anger.²

In the midst of these transactions, the insurgent lords became daily convinced, that if not speedily supported by England, their struggle must be brought to a calamitous termination. Every hour added to the strength of the queen; her solemn public assurances that no alteration was meditated in the national religion, her successful detection of the interested schemes and false representations of her enemies, the vigour and decision with which she acted, and the anxiety she evinced to preserve amity with Elizabeth, although irritated by the constant misrepresentations and sedi-

¹ Keith, p. 303, Randolph to Cecil, 21st July, 1565.

² Keith, p. 304.

tious intrigues of Randolph ; all these circumstances produced the most favourable effect, and convinced the great body of her subjects that Moray, and the faction who opposed her measures, were actuated by no other motives than selfishness and ambition.

It was now the end of July, and Chisholm bishop of Dunblane having arrived from Rome with a dispensation for the marriage, it was intimated to the people, by a public proclamation, that the queen had resolved to take to her husband an illustrious prince, Henry duke of Albany, for which reason she commanded her subjects henceforth to give him the title of king. Next day, being Sunday, the 29th of July, the ceremony was performed in the royal chapel of Holyrood, at six in the morning. Mary was habited in deep mourning, and it was superstitiously observed, that it was the same dress which she wore on the melancholy day of her late husband's obsequies. After the solemnity, and when the youthful pair had risen from the altar, Darnley embraced and kissed the bride, and, retiring from the chapel, left her to hear mass alone, surrounded only by those nobles who adhered to the ancient faith. On the conclusion of the service, being conducted back to her chamber, she consented, at the earnest entreaty of her husband, to renounce her weeds, and assume a costume more suited to the happiness of the day. The banquet succeeded, in which the queen was served by the Earl of Athole as sewer, Morton as carver, and Crawford as cup-bearer. The king, sitting beside her, was waited on by the Earls of Eglinton, Cassillis, and Glencairn. Money in abundance was scattered amongst the guests, the hall rang with music and cries of " largess," and the evening closed with the dances and joyous revelry which generally accom-

pany such regal festivals.¹ Mary was then in her twenty-third, and Darnley had probably just completed his nineteenth year.

¹ Randolph to Leicester, July 31 ; in Robertson's Appendix, No. xi. This noted letter, which had been printed by Robertson, has been printed, as if for the first time, by Von Raumer. Also, Keith, p. 307. Chalmers's Life of Mary, vol. ii. p. 127.

CHAP. V.

M A R Y.

1565—1567.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Portugal.</i>	<i>Pope.</i>
Elizabeth.	Charles IX.	Maximilian II.	Philip II.	Sebastian.	Pius IV.

PREVIOUS to her marriage with Darnley, Mary had become assured that Moray and his faction were ready to rise in rebellion against her government if they met with the least encouragement from England: after this event, every day convinced her that Randolph, the English ambassador, was using all his efforts to induce her barons to throw off their allegiance, and that Elizabeth not only approved of their proceedings, but secretly stimulated them to revolt.¹

To prepare for this emergency, the Scottish queen summoned her subjects to meet her in arms in the capital.² Her safety lay in promptitude and decision: she resolved to anticipate the movements of her opponents before it was possible for them to receive succour from England; and in this her efforts were eminently

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Earl of Moray to Cecil, Carlisle, Oct. 14, 1565. [I may here observe, where the words *MS. letter* occur, the reader may consider the letter to be an original: when I quote a copy, the word *copy* is subjoined.]

² MS. Proclamation, State-paper Office, July 16, 1565. Copy of the time, endorsed by Randolph.

successful. Three days after her marriage, Moray was commanded to appear at court, under the penalty of being proclaimed a rebel; and having failed, he was "put to the horn," as it was termed, that is, his life and estates were declared forfeited to the laws; upon which Randolph, in a letter addressed to the Queen of England, implored her to strengthen the hands of the English party in Scotland, and to save them from utter ruin.¹ He wrote also to the Earl of Bedford, an old and tried friend of Moray, urging him to use his influence to procure instant assistance, and assuring him, that if the English borderers could be let loose at this crisis, so as to keep their Scottish neighbours employed, the queen and Darnley would be reduced to great distress.² His letters to Elizabeth contained an alarming picture of affairs in Scotland. He represented religion, by which he meant Protestantism, as in danger; and affirmed that the amity between the two kingdoms was on the point of being broken: but the English queen was slow to credit all his statements, and contented herself with despatching Mr Tamworth, one of the gentlemen of her bed-chamber, to the Scottish court, with the vain object of accomplishing a reconciliation between Mary and the Earl of Moray.³

This, however, was now impossible. The Scottish queen, convinced that Moray's sole purpose was to recover the power which he had lost, allowed her enemies no time to concentrate their strength, but at the head of a force which defied opposition, compelled

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to the Queen, 23d July, 1565, Edinburgh. [When in the notes, I use the words "*to the Queen*," in quoting any letter, the Queen of England is meant.]

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Bedford, Edinburgh, 24th July, 1565.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Tamworth and Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, 10th August, 1565.

them to fly from Stirling to Glasgow, and from Glasgow to Argyle.¹ She then returned to Edinburgh, where Tamworth had arrived; and this envoy being admitted to an audience, was received by Mary with a spirit for which he seems not to have been prepared.²

In the letter which Elizabeth sent to this princess, she had affected to treat with contempt her pretensions to the English throne, and her practices with foreign powers; but Mary could express herself as severely, though with greater command of temper, than her sister of England. After defending her marriage, and remonstrating against the uncalled-for interference of Elizabeth, she turned to the subject of the succession. "I am not," said she, "so lowly born, nor yet have I such small alliances abroad, that if compelled by your mistress to enter into 'practices' with foreign powers, she shall find them of such small account as she believes. The place which I fill, in relation to the succession to the crown of England, is no vain or imaginary one; and by God's grace it shall appear to the world, that my designs and consultations shall prove as substantial as those which at any time my neighbours have taken in hand."³

But although she repelled Elizabeth's haughty and sarcastic insinuations, Mary was sincerely desirous of peace. To promote this, she promised Randolph all that could justly be required. She could not consent, indeed, to renounce her title to a throne to which she held her claim to be undoubted; but she was ready to

¹ Diurnal of Occurrents, p. 82. Keith, p. 316. MS. letter, State paper Office, Mary to the Master of Maxwell, copy, Edinburgh, 23d August, 1565.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Tamworth and Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, 10th August, 1565.

³ MS. State-paper Office, Answers given by the Queen of Scots to "Articles" proposed by Mr Tamworth, 12th August, 1565.

come under the most solemn obligation that neither she nor her husband should attempt any thing to the prejudice of the English queen or of her issue; and that, whenever God called them to the possession of their right in England, no alteration should be made in the religion, laws, or liberties of that ancient kingdom. In return, she insisted on the performance of two conditions: the first, that Elizabeth, by act of parliament, should settle the English crown upon herself and Darnley, in the first instance, and, in default of them and their children, on the Lady Margaret countess of Lennox; the second, that she should offer no countenance or assistance to her rebels.¹

In this last stipulation Mary was peremptory; for she had discovered that Randolph, the English ambassador, intrigued with Moray, and she then suspected (what is now established beyond a doubt by the original letters of the actors in these unworthy scenes) that Elizabeth's advice and encouragement were at the bottom of the whole rebellion. Without waiting, therefore, for any further communication from England, she deemed it proper to take a determined step. The English ambassador was informed that he must either promise upon his honour to renounce all intercourse with her rebels, or be put under the charge of those who should take care to detect and restrain his practices. Randolph's reply to the privy council was more a defiance than an answer. "I will promise nothing," said he, "either on honour, honesty, word, or writing; and as for guards to attend me, they shall fare full ill, unless stronger and better armed than my own servants." Lethington, the secretary, then proposed that

¹ MS. State-paper Office, Offers made by the Queen of Scots to the Queen's majesty of England; wholly in Randolph's hand, and indorsed by Cecil, 13th August, 1565.

he should retire to Berwick ; but this, too, he peremptorily refused. “ Wheresoever the queen your mistress keeps her court,” was his reply, “ there, or not far off, is my place. If I am driven from this, it is easy to see what mind is borne to my sovereign.”¹ His insolence encouraged Tamworth to equal arrogance : he refused to give Darnley the royal title, and declined accepting a passport, because it bore his signature as king : but this ill-judged presumption cost him dear. On his way home, a hint having been given to the borderers, he was waylaid, maltreated, and carried a prisoner to Hume castle, from which he addressed a letter to Cecil, detailing his sorrowful adventure.²

In the meantime Elizabeth amused the insurgent barons by large promises, and small pecuniary advances ; and, thus encouraged, Moray, the duke, and Glencairn, at the head of a thousand men, advanced to Edinburgh, which they entered on the last day of August.³ The movement proved to be ill-judged, and premature. The citizens received them coldly, not a man joined their ranks ; it was in vain they endeavoured to excite an alarm that religion was in danger ; in vain they addressed a letter to the queen, in which they threatened that, if she continued to pursue them, their blood should be dearly bought ;⁴ in vain that they

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, 20th August, 1565. [As these inverted commas may possibly mislead a reader, I beg to say, that where they occur, as they do here, in reporting any conversation or dialogue, they do not always indicate that the passages are given strictly word for word. Sometimes, indeed, the very words are given ; but sometimes only the sense.]

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Tamworth to Cecil, Hume castle, 21st August, 1565.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, 31st August, 1565. Same to the same, 1st September, 1565.

⁴ MS. letter, State-paper Office, contemporary copy. Letter from

despatched urgent entreaties for assistance to Bedford and Cecil.¹ Before time was given for reply, Mary had marched against them, a cannonade was opened from the castle, and they were compelled, with precipitation and dismay, to abandon the capital and retire to Dumfries.² From this place they despatched Robert Melvil, brother to the well-known Sir James Melvil, to the English court. He was instructed to require the immediate assistance of three thousand men, and the presence of some ships of war in the Firth.³

With these exorbitant demands Elizabeth could not possibly have complied, unless she had been prepared to rush into open war. She was now convinced that Randolph had misled or deceived her, by overrating the strength of the insurgents : she had believed that the whole country was ready to rise against the government of Mary and Darnley, and a short time before Melvil's arrival, had directed Bedford to assist them both with money and soldiers.⁴ On discovering, however, the real weakness of Moray's faction, these orders were countermanded, and the insurgents found themselves in the alarming predicament of having risen in rebellion, trusting to succours which never arrived.⁵

Nor did Mary give Elizabeth time, even had she so

the Lords to the Queen, sent from Edinburgh to Glasgow, 1st September, 1565.

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Border Correspondence, [henceforth to be marked simply by the letters B.C.] Bedford to Cecil, Berwick, 2d September, 1565. State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, 2d September, 1565.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, 4th September, 1565.

³ MS. State-paper Office, Instructions given to Robert Melvil, 10th September, 1565.

⁴ The Queen to Bedford, September 12, 1565. Appendix to Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. i. No. xiii.

⁵ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Lords of Scotland to Mr Melvil, Dumfries, 15th September, 1565.

determined, to save her friends. Before a company of horse, pikes, or bowmen, could have reached the borders, the Scottish queen had swept with her forces through Fife ; inflicted chastisement on the Laird of Grange and other barons who had joined the rebels ; levied a heavy fine on the towns of Dundee and St Andrews; seized Castle Campbell; and prepared, at the head of an army which rendered opposition fruitless, to attack the rebel lords at Dumfries. So keen was she in the pursuit, that she rode with pistols at her saddle-bow, and declared to Randolph, that she would rather peril her crown than lose her revenge.¹

At this crisis, the Earl of Bothwell returned from France, profiting by the disgrace of Moray, whose power had expelled him from his country. He was favourably received by the queen, although well known to be a rash, daring, and profligate man ; but his extensive border estates gave him much power ; and the circumstances in which Mary was placed, made her welcome any baron who could bring a formidable force into the field.² In his company came David Chambers, a person of a dark, intriguing spirit, who had long been a retainer of this nobleman, and although a lord of the session, more likely to outrage than administer the law.

Aware that the arrival of such partisans would be followed by the most determined measures, the rebel lords made a last effort to alarm Elizabeth on the subject of religion. They transmitted to Robert Melvil, their envoy in England, a paper entitled " Informations to be given to the queen's majesty, in favour of the

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, September 9, 1565. Ibid. same to the same, Edinburgh, August 27, 1565. Ibid. same to the same, Edinburgh, September 4, 1565.

² MS. State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, September 19 and 20, 1565. Same to the same, Edinburgh, September 1, 1565.

church of Christ, now begun to be persecuted in the chief members of the same."¹ Even the title of this paper contained a misrepresentation of the truth, for at this moment, so far from persecution, there was complete religious toleration in Scotland. Its contents, too, were of questionable accuracy; certainly highly coloured. Melvil was directed to assure the English queen, that nothing was meant by Mary, and him who was now joined with her, but the utter subversion of the religion of Jesus Christ within the realm, and the erecting again of all papistry and superstition. "The cause," said they, "why our destruction is sought, is, first the zeal that we bear to the maintenance of the true religion; and secondly, the care that we have to redress the great enormities lately crept into the public regimen of this miserable commonwealth." The patrimony of the crown was described as so dilapidated, that it was impossible the common expenses could be borne; and this, they affirmed, had led to the persecution of honourable men, and the promotion of crafty foreigners, chiefly two Italians, David Riccio and Francisco, who, with other unworthy persons, occupied the place in council belonging to the ancient nobility. As to the Earl of Moray, he was hated, they said, because he would not support Riccio in his abuses; whilst a stranger, (meaning Darnley,) the subject of another realm, had intruded himself into the state, and claimed the name and authority of a king, without their consent, against all order that ever was used in this realm; and now, because they desired redress of these great enormities, they were persecuted as traitors and enemies to the commonwealth.²

¹ MS. State-paper Office, Informations given to the Queen's majesty of England, and the Council, in favour of religion in Scotland, September 22, 1565.

² *Id. ut supra.*

Although in some parts exaggerated, these fears and accusations were not without foundation. Mary had undoubtedly negotiated with the Roman see for an advance of money, and the pope had transmitted to her the sum of eight thousand crowns in a vessel which, being wrecked on the coast of England, fell a prey to the cupidity of the Earl of Northumberland.¹

She was in correspondence also with Philip II., who had expressed to the Cardinal Pacheco, the papal envoy, his determination to assist her to subdue her rebels, maintain the Catholic faith, and vindicate her right to the English throne. Nor did the Spanish king confine himself to mere promises. He had sent a remittance of twenty thousand crowns to Guzman de Silva, his ambassador at the court of England, with orders to employ it "with the utmost secrecy and address, in the support of the Scottish queen and her husband."² It was true, also, that Mary had appointed Riccio to the place of French secretary. This foreigner, who was a Milanese, had come to Scotland in the train of Moret, the Savoy ambassador, and his ambition was at first satisfied with the humble office of a singer in the queen's band; but, being well educated, he was occasionally employed in other matters, and on the dismissal of Raulet, her French secretary, Mary rewarded his talent with the vacant office. But when betrayed, as she had repeatedly been by her own nobility, to whom office, but not fidelity, was transmitted by birth, it was not wonderful that the queen employed those whom she could better trust; and on the whole,

¹ Keith, p. 316.

² Gonzalez Apuntamientos para la Historia del Rey Felipe II. p. 312, published in vol. vii. of the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Madrid. The work was pointed out to me by a kind and respected friend, to whom I am indebted for some valuable papers and references, Mr Howard of Corby castle.

the arguments of the insurgents produced little effect upon Elizabeth. She was convinced of the power and popularity of the Scottish queen; the feebleness of Moray and his associates, whom she had bribed into rebellion, was proved beyond a doubt; and the moment this was discovered, they were abandoned to their fate, without pity or remorse. True to her wonted dissimulation in all state policy, she assured them that she still favoured their enterprise, and was moved by their distress; but no remonstrances of Moray, who loudly declared that desertion was ruin, could extort from her either money or troops.¹ At this moment, Monsieur de Mauvissiere, better known as the Sieur de Castelnau, was in England, whither he had been sent by his master the French king, to accomplish, if possible, a reconciliation between Mary and Elizabeth. By the advice of Cecil, Mauvissiere and Cockburn, the last a creature of this minister, and known to Mary as an archer in the Scottish Guard, repaired to Scotland, and made an attempt to procure a pardon for Moray and his associates. To both the queen readily gave audience; and the picture given by them of the miserable and distracted state of her kingdom was so sad and true, as to draw many tears from her eyes.² But when the terms upon which they proposed to mediate were stated, her spirit rose against the imperious dictation of Elizabeth; she dismissed the envoys, and proceeded instantly against her rebels, who still lay, with a few horse, at Dumfries. On advancing at the head of her army, Lord Maxwell, the most powerful baron in these quarters, hastened

¹ MS. State-paper Office, An answer for Robert Melvil, October 1, 1565. Entirely in Cecil's hand.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Edinburgh, October 2, 1565, Captain Cockburn to Cecil.—“She wept wondrous sore.”

to make his submission ; and Moray, with the chiefs of his faction, fled in terror to Carlisle.¹

From this city the Scottish earl addressed a letter of remonstrance to Cecil, imploring his mistress to save them from the wreck of " honour, conscience, and estate." On the other hand, Mary, a few days before, had written in spirited terms to Elizabeth. It had been reported, she said, much to her astonishment, that her sister of England intended to protect her rebellious subjects who had fled to the borders. She declared her unwillingness to give credit to such tales ; but, should they prove true, should she make common cause with such traitors, she avowed her resolution to denounce such wrongful dealings to all the foreign princes who were her allies. The English queen was alarmed. The French and Spanish ambassadors took Mary's part, and accused Elizabeth, in no measured terms, of fomenting civil commotions in other realms, that she might avert danger from her own. It was her favourite policy, they affirmed : Scotland proved it ; and at this instant the rebels there acted by her encouragement, and, in their distress, looked to her as their last resource.

Moray, by this time, was travelling to the English court, and Elizabeth found herself in an awkward predicament ; but it was necessary to take immediate measures, and those which she adopted strongly marked her character. An envoy was hurried off to command the Scottish earl and his friends, on pain of her displeasure, to remain at a distance. This was the public message intended to vindicate her fair dealing to the world. The messenger encountered and stopped Moray at Ware : here the earl remained, and here he soon

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Bedford to Cecil, Carlisle, October 14, 1565.

received a secret message, permitting him to come forward.¹ He obeyed, and was admitted into the presence of the English queen ; but it was to be made an actor in a scene which overwhelmed him with confusion. She had summoned the French and Spanish ambassadors to be present. Moray and the Abbot of Kilwinning entered the apartment, fell upon their knees, and implored her intercession with the queen their mistress. "I am astonished," said Elizabeth, "that you have dared, without warning, to come before me ; are you not branded as rebels to your sovereign ? have you not spurned her summons, and taken arms against her authority ? I command you, on the faith of a gentleman, to declare the truth." Moray repelled the charge of treason, lamented that he was encompassed with enemies, who made it dangerous for him to come to court, and declared that the accusation, that he had plotted to seize the person of his sovereign, and had been encouraged in his rebellion by the Queen of England, was utterly false and ridiculous. The whole pageant had evidently been arranged beforehand,² and Elizabeth's answer was in perfect keeping : turning in proud triumph to the foreign ambassadors, she bade them mark his words, and then, with an expression of anger and contempt, she addressed Moray and the Abbot of Kilwinning, still on their knees before her :— "It is well," said she, "that you have told the truth : for neither did I, nor any one else in my name, ever encourage you in your unnatural rebellion against your

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Moray to the privy council, Ware, Oct. 21, 1565. MS. State-paper Office, copy of the speech to the Earl of Moray, Oct. 23, corrected throughout and partly written in Cecil's hand.

² MS. State-paper Office, copy of the Queen's speech to the Earl of Moray, before the French ambassador, the Sieur de Mauvissiere, and the Queen's council, Oct. 23. Also Melvil's Memoirs, p. 57.

sovereign ; nor, to be mistress of a world, could I maintain any subject in disobedience to his prince : it might move God to punish me by a similar trouble in my own realm ; but as for you two, ye are unworthy traitors, and I command you instantly to leave my presence.”¹

The earl and his friend were then ignominiously driven from court, and care was taken to render as public as possible the severe treatment they had received, so that the news soon reached the court in Scotland, and occasioned great triumph to the party of Mary and the king. “All the contrary faction,” said Randolph, in a letter from Edinburgh, to Cecil, “are discouraged, and think themselves utterly undone.”² Nor did they want good reason to think so, for the Scottish queen summoned a parliament to meet in February, and it was publicly declared that the forfeiture of Moray and his adherents was the principal business to be brought before it.³

It is scarcely necessary here to repeat, what has been apparent from innumerable examples in the course of this History, that feudal forfeiture was in these days equivalent to absolute ruin ; that it stripped the most potent baron at once of his whole estates and authority, throwing him either as an outcast upon the charity of some foreign country, or exposing him to be hunted down by those vassals whose allegiance followed the land, and not the lord.

To avert this dreadful calamity, Moray exerted himself to the utmost. He interceded with Leicester,

¹ MS. State-paper Office, copy of the Queen’s speech to the Earl of Moray, before the French ambassador, the Sieur de Mauvissiere, and the Queen’s council, Oct. 23.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, Nov. 8, 1565.

³ Ibid. Dec. 23, 1565.

he wrote to Cecil, imploring him to save him from being “wrecked for ever.”¹ He addressed a letter to Elizabeth, and he even condescended to court Riccio.

The influence of this Milanese adventurer had been gradually increasing. At this moment Maitland of Lethington, the secretary of state, was suspected of having been nearly connected with the rebellion of Moray;² and, as a trustworthy servant was a prize rarely to be found, the queen began to consult her French secretary in affairs of secrecy and moment. The step was an imprudent one, and soon was attended with the worst effects. It roused the jealousy of the king, a weak and suspicious youth, who deemed it an affront that a stranger of low origin should presume to interfere in state affairs; and it turned Riccio’s head, who began to assume, in his dress, equipage, and establishment, a foolish state, totally unsuited to his rank.³ In the meantime his influence was great, and Moray bespoke his good offices by the present of a rich diamond, with a letter soliciting his assistance.⁴

Had Mary been left to herself, there is little doubt that her rebels would have been pardoned. Her natural generosity and the intercession of some powerful friends, strongly impelled her to the side of mercy;⁵ and she had already consented to delay the parliament, and to entertain proposals for the restoration of the banished lords, when an unforeseen circumstance occurred, which led to unfortunate results. This was

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Moray to Cecil, Newcastle, Jan. 9, 1565-6. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Moray to Leicester, Newcastle, Dec. 25, 1565.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, Dec. 1, 1565.

³ Spottiswood, p. 193.

⁴ Sir James Melvil’s Memoirs, p. 157. Bannatyne Club edition.

⁵ Sir J. Melvil, p. 146.

the arrival of two gentlemen, De Rambouillet and Clernau, on a mission from the French court. Their message was outwardly one of mere ceremony, to invest the young king with the order of St Michael; but amid the festivities attendant on the installation, a more important and secret communication took place. Clernau, the special envoy of the Cardinal Lorraine, and Thornton, a messenger from Beaton, the Scottish ambassador in France, who had come to court about the same time, informed Mary of the coalition which had been concluded between France, Spain, and the emperor, for the destruction of the Protestant cause in Europe. It was a design worthy of the dark and unscrupulous politicians by whom it had been planned—Catherine of Medicis and the Duke of Alva. In the summer of the preceding year, the Queen-dowager of France and Alva had met at Bayonne, during a progress, in which she conducted her youthful son and sovereign, Charles IX., through the southern provinces of his kingdom; and there, whilst the court was dissolved in pleasure, those secret conferences were held which issued in the resolution that toleration must be at an end, and that the only safety for the Roman Catholic faith was the extermination of its enemies.¹

Thornton accordingly brought from the Cardinal Lorraine the “*Band*” or league which had been drawn up on this occasion; it was whispered that some of her friends in England were parties to it, and Mary was strongly urged to become a member of the coalition: her intention of pardoning Moray and her other rebels

¹ Keith, p. 325, Mezerai *Abrege Chronologique de L’Histoire de France*, vol. v. pp. 87, 88. Randolph to Cecil, Feb. 7, 1565-6. Robertson’s Appendix, No. xiv. Also, Bedford to Cecil, Feb. 14, 1565-6, British Museum, Caligula, book x. fol. 391.

was at the same time opposed by these foreign envoys, with the utmost earnestness. It was represented as her only safe policy to crush, while she had it in her power, that busy Protestant faction which had been so long encouraged, and was even at this moment secretly supported by Elizabeth, and to join that sacred league to which she was united, as well by the bonds of a mutual faith as by those of blood and affection. If she adopted this method, it was argued, her authority within her realm would be placed upon a secure foundation ; if she neglected it, her misfortunes, however complicated they had already been, were only in their commencement.

Riccio, who at this moment possessed much influence, and was, on good grounds, suspected to be a pensioner of Rome, seconded these views with all his power. On the other hand, she did not want advisers on the side of wisdom and mercy. Sir James Melvil in Scotland, and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, one of her most powerful friends in England, earnestly implored her to pardon Moray, and adopt a conciliatory course.¹ Mary was not naturally inclined to harsh or cruel measures, and for some time she vacillated between the adoption of temperate and violent counsels. But now the entreaties of her uncle the cardinal, the advice of her ambassador, the prejudices of her education, and the intolerance of the Protestants, and of Elizabeth, by whom she had been so often deceived, all united to influence her decision, and overmaster her better judgment. In an evil hour she signed the league, and determined to hurry on the parliament for the forfeiture of the rebels. This may, I think, be regarded as one of the most fatal errors of her life ; and it proved

¹ Sir J. Melvil's Memoirs, pp. 141, 144.

the source of all her future misfortunes. She united herself to a bigoted and unprincipled association, which, under the mask of defending the truth, offered an outrage to the plainest precepts of the gospel. She imagined herself a supporter of the Catholic church, when she was giving her sanction to one of the worst corruptions of Romanism : and she was destined to reap the consequences of such a step in all their protracted bitterness.

The moment the queen's resolution was known, it blasted the hopes of Moray, and threw him and all Mary's enemies upon desperate courses. If the estates were allowed to meet, the consequence to them was ruin ; if the councillors continued unchanged, and Riccio's advice was followed, it was certain the estates would meet : what then was to be done ? The time was fast running on, and the remedy, if there was to be any, must be sudden. Such being the crisis, it was at once determined that the meeting of parliament should be arrested, the government of the queen and her ministers overturned ; and that, to effect this, Riccio must be murdered. This last atrocious expedient was no new idea, for the seeds of an unformed conspiracy against the foreign favourite had been sown some time before ; and of this Moray's friends now availed themselves, artfully uniting the two plots into one, the object of which was, the return of Moray, the dethronement of the queen, and the re-establishment of the Protestant leaders in the power which they had lost.

The origin, growth, and subsequent combination of these two conspiracies have never yet been understood, although they can be distinctly traced. The first plot for the death of Riccio was, strange to say, formed by no less personages than the young king and his father the Earl of Lennox. It had its rise in the jealousy

and ambition of these unprincipled men, and the imprudent conduct of Mary. In the early ardour of her affection, the queen had promised Darnley the *crown matrimonial*, by which was meant an equal share with herself in the government; but after a few months she had the misery to discover, that her love had been thrown away upon a husband whom it was impossible for her to treat with confidence or respect. He was fickle, proud, and suspicious: ambitious of power, yet incapable of business, and the easy dupe of every crafty or interested companion whom he met. It became necessary for Mary to draw back from her first promise. This led to coldness, to reproaches, soon to an absolute estrangement; even in public he treated her with harshness; he became addicted to low dissipation,¹ forsook her company, and threw himself into the hands of her enemies. They persuaded him that Riccio was the sole author of those measures which had deprived him of his due share in the government. But this was not all: Darnley had the folly to become the dupe of a more absurd delusion. He became jealous of the Italian secretary: he believed that he had supplanted him in the affections of the queen; he went so far as to assert that he had dishonoured his bed; and, in a furious state of mind, sent his cousin, George Douglas, to implore Lord Ruthven, in whom he had great confidence, to assist him against “the villain David.”² Ruthven was at this moment confined to bed by a dangerous sickness, which might have been supposed to unfit him for such desperate projects. He was, as he himself informs us, “scarcely able to walk

¹ Drury to Cecil, 16th February, 1565-6. Keith, p. 329.

² This was about the 10th February. Ruthven’s Narrative in Keith, Appendix, p. 119; and Caligula, book ix. fol. 219. MS. letter, State-paper Office, Ruthven and Morton to Cecil, 27th March, 1566.

twice the length of his chamber ; ” yet he consented to engage in the murder, and Darnley was sworn to keep all secret. But Randolph the English minister, having become acquainted with the plot, revealed it to Leicester, in a remarkable letter which yet remains. He informed him that the king and his father Lennox were determined to murder Riccio ; that within ten days the deed would be done ; that, as to the queen, the crown would be torn from her whose dis-honour was discovered ; and that still darker designs were meditated against her person, which he did not dare to commit to writing. From his letter, which is very long, I must give this important passage. “ I know now for certain,” said he, “ that this queen repenteth her marriage ; that she hateth him [Darnley] and all his kin. I know that he knoweth himself, that he hath a partaker in play and game with him ; I know that there are practices in hand, contrived between the father and son, to come by the crown against her will. I know that if that take effect which is intended, David, with the consent of the king, shall have his throat cut within these ten days. Many things grievouser and worse than these are brought to my ears ; yea, of things intended against her own person, which, because I think better to keep secret than write to Mr Secretary, I speak not of them but now to your lordship.”¹

At this time Randolph, who, from the terms in which he described it, appears to have had no objec-

¹ Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, Edinburgh, 13th Feb. 1565-6. This remarkable letter, which has never been published, is to be found in the appendix to a privately printed and anonymous work, entitled “ Maitland’s Narrative,” of which only twenty copies were printed. The book was politely presented to me by Mr Dawson Turner, in whose valuable collection of MSS. the original letter is preserved. See Proofs and Illustrations, No. XVI.

tion to the plot, was banished by Mary to Berwick, the queen having now discovered certain proof of his having encouraged and assisted Moray in his rebellion.¹ To supply his place, Ruthven, who perceived that the king's intent to murder the Italian gave him a good opportunity to labour for the return of his banished friends, called in the Earl of Morton, then chancellor of the kingdom.² This powerful and unscrupulous man proved an able assistant. Under his father, the noted George Douglas, he had been early familiarized with intrigue : he hated Riccio, and dreaded the assembling of parliament almost as much as Moray, from a report that he was to be deprived of certain crown lands, which had been improperly obtained, and to lose the seals as chancellor.³ Morton, too, was the personal friend of Moray ; like him he belonged to the party of the reformed church ; and when Ruthven and Darnley solicited his aid, he at once embraced the proposal for the murder of the secretary, and proceeded to complete the machinery of the conspiracy, with greater skill than his fierce but less artful associates.

His first endeavour was to strengthen their hands by procuring the co-operation of the party of the reformed church ; his next, to follow out Ruthven's idea, by drawing in Moray, and making the plot the means of his return to power ; his last, to secure the countenance and support of Elizabeth and her chief ministers, Cecil and Leicester.

¹ MS. letter communicated to me by the Hon. William Lealie Melvil ; Mary to Melvil, 17th February, 1565-6, a copy. Mary confronted Randolph before the privy council, with Johnston, the person to whom he had delivered the money to be conveyed to Moray ; and the evidence being considered conclusive, he received orders to quit the court, and retired to Berwick.

² Narrative, *ut supra*. Keith, p. 120, Appendix. MS. letter, State-paper Office, Morton and Ruthven to Cecil, Berwick, March 27, 1566.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Berwick, 6th March, 1566.

In all this he succeeded. The consent and assistance of the leading Protestant barons was soon gained, and to neutralize any opposition on the part of their chief ministers was not found a difficult matter.¹ They were in the deepest alarm at this moment. It was known that Mary had signed the Popish league ; it was believed that Riccio corresponded with Rome ; and there was no doubt that some measures for the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion were in preparation, and only waited for the parliament to be carried into execution.² Having these gloomy prospects before their eyes, Knox and Craig, the ministers of Edinburgh, were made acquainted with the conspiracy ;³ Bellenden the justice-clerk, Makgill the clerk-register, the Lairds of Brunston, Calder, and Ormiston, and other leading men of that party, were at the same time admitted into the secret. It was contended by Morton, that only one way remained to extirpate the Romish faith, and replace religion upon a secure basis : this was, to break off the parliament by the murder of Riccio, to imprison the queen, intrust Darnley with the nominal sovereignty, and restore the Earl of Moray to be the head of the government. Desperate as were these designs, the reformed party in Scotland did not hesitate to adopt them. Their horror of idolatry, the name they bestowed on the Roman Catholic religion, misled their judgment and hardened their feelings ; and they regarded the plot as the act of men raised up

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Morton and Ruthven to Cecil, 27th March, 1566.

² Mary's own words in her letter describing the murder of Riccio, addressed to Beaton, her ambassador at the French court, are quite explicit upon this point. "The spiritual estate," says she, "being placed therein in the ancient manner, tending to have done some good aent restoring *the auld religion.*" Keith, p. 331.

³ See the evidence on which this fact is now stated for the first time in Proofs and Illustrations, No. XV.

by God for the destruction of an accursed superstition. The General Fast, which always secured the presence of a formidable and numerous band of partisans, was near approaching ; and as the murder had been fixed for the week in March in which the parliament had been summoned, it was contrived that this religious solemnity should be held in the capital at the same time : this secured Morton, and enabled him to work with greater boldness.¹

Having so far organized the conspiracy, it remained to communicate it to Moray; and for this purpose the king's father the Earl of Lennox repaired to England.² It required no great persuasion to induce Moray, now in banishment, and over whose head forfeiture and ruin were impending, to embrace a plot which promised to avert all danger, and restore him to the station he had lost. It was accordingly arranged by him, with Grange, Ochiltree the father-in-law of Knox, and the other banished lords, that as soon as the day for the murder was fixed, they should be informed of it, and then order matters so that their return to Edinburgh should take place instantly after it was committed.³ But this was not all : according to a common but revolting practice of this age, which combined the utmost feudal ferocity with a singular love of legal formalities, it was resolved that "covenants," or contracts, for the commission of the murder, and the benefits to be derived from it, should be entered into, and signed by the young king himself and the rest of the conspirators.

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Morton and Ruthven to Cecil, 27th March, 1566. Knox, History, pp. 429, 430, 431.

² Calderwood, MS. British Museum, Ayscough, 4735, fol. 642.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Edinburgh, 25th February, 1565, i. e. 1565-6, Randolph to Cecil ; also, ibid. March 8, 1565-6, Berwick Bedford and Randolph to Leicester and Cecil. Ibid, MS. letter, Moray to Cecil, Newcastle, March 8, 1565-6.

Two “bands,” or “covenants,” were accordingly drawn up : the first ran in the king’s name alone, although many were parties to it. It stated that the queen’s “gentle and good nature” was abused by some wicked and ungodly persons, specially an Italian stranger called David ; it declared his resolution, with the assistance of certain of his nobility and others, to seize these enemies ; and if any difficulty or resistance occurred, “to cut them off immediately, and slay them wherever it happened ;” and solemnly promised, on the word of a prince, to maintain and defend his assistants and associates in the enterprise, though carried into execution in presence of the queen’s majesty, and within the precincts of the palace.¹ By whom this agreement was signed, besides the king, Morton, and Ruthven, does not appear ; but it is certain that its contents were communicated, amongst others, to Moray, Argyle, Rothes, Maitland, Grange, and the Lords Boyd and Lindsay. Of these persons, some were in England, and could not personally assist in the assassination ; and to them, among others, Morton and Ruthven no doubt alluded, when they afterwards declared, that the most honest and the most worthy were easily induced to approve of the intended murder, and to support their prince in its execution.² The second “ covenant ” has been also preserved. It was supplementary to the first, its purpose being to bind the king, on the one hand, and the conspirators on the other, to the performance of those conditions which were considered for their mutual advantage. The parties to it were the king, the Earls of Moray, Argyle,

¹ British Museum, Caligula, book ix. fol. 212, copy of the time, endorsed by Randolph.

² MS. Letter, State-paper Office, Morton and Ruthven to Cecil, Berwick, March 27, 1568. Also, Keith, p. 120.

Glencairn, and Rothes, the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree, and their “complices.” They promised to support Darnley in all his just quarrels, to be friends to his friends, and enemies to his enemies ; to give him the crown matrimonial, to maintain the Protestant religion, to put down its enemies, and uphold every reform founded on the Word of God. For his part, the king engaged to pardon Moray and the banished lords, to stay all proceedings for their forfeiture, and to restore them to their lands and dignities.¹

Such was now the forward state of the conspiracy for the murder of Riccio, the restoration of Moray, and the revolution in the government ; and it appears to have assumed this form only a few days previous to Randolph’s dismissal from the Scottish court. One only step remained : to communicate the plot to the Queen of England and her ministers, and to obtain their approval and support. Randolph was now at Berwick with the Earl of Bedford, the lieutenant of the north ; and from this place these persons wrote on the 6th of March to Elizabeth, informing her of “a matter of no small consequence being intended in Scotland,” referring to a more particular statement which they had transmitted to Cecil, adding, that Moray would thus be brought home ; that Tuesday was the last day, and that they looked daily to hear of its execution.²

The other letter from Bedford and Randolph to Cecil, written on the same day, was far more explicit. It enjoined the strictest secrecy : they had promised,

¹ State-paper Office, copy by Randolph from the original :—“Conditions for the earls to perform to their king,” and “Conditions to be performed by the King of Scots to the earls.” Endorsed in Cecil’s hand, Primo Martii, 1565-6.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Bedford and Randolph to the Queen, Berwick, March 6, 1565-6.

they said, upon their honour, that none except the queen, Leicester, and Cecil himself, should be informed of “the great attempt,” now on the eve of being put in execution ; and they went on thus to describe it :

“The matter is this : Somewhat we are sure you have heard of divers discords and jarrings¹ between this queen and her husband, partly for that she hath refused him the crown matrimonial, partly for that he hath assured knowledge of such usage of herself, as altogether is intolerable to be borne, which, if it were not overwell known, we would both be very loath to think that it could be true. To take away this occasion of slander, he is himself determined to be at the apprehension and execution of him whom he is able manifestly to charge with the crime, and to have done him the most dishonour that can be to any man, much more being as he is. We need not more plainly to describe the person : you have heard of the man whom we mean of.

“To come by the other thing which he desireth, which is the crown matrimonial, what is devised and concluded upon by him and the noblemen, you shall see by the copies of the conditions between them and him, of which Mr Randolph assureth me to have seen the principals, and taken the copies written with his own hand.

“The time of execution and performance of these matters is before the parliament, as near as it is. To this determination of theirs, there are privy in Scotland these : Argyle, Morton, Boyd, Ruthven, and Lethington. In England these : Moray, Rothes, Grange, myself, and the writer hereof. If persuasions to cause the queen to yield to these matters do no

¹ Jars.

good, they purpose to proceed we know not in what sort. If she be able to make any power at home, she shall be withheld, and herself kept from all other counsel than her own nobility. If she seek any foreign support, the queen's majesty our sovereign shall be sought, and sued unto to accept his and their defence, with offers reasonable to her majesty's contentment. These are the things which we thought and think to be of no small importance ; and knowing them certainly intended, and concluded upon, thought it our duties to utter the same to you, Mr Secretary, to make declaration thereof as shall seem best to your wisdom. And of this matter thought to write conjunctly, though we came severally by knowledge, agreeing both in one in the substance of that which is determined. At Berwick, 6th March, 1565.¹

“ F. BEDFORD. TH. RANDOLPHE.”

I have given this long extract, as the letter is of much importance, and has never before been known. It proves that Elizabeth received the most precise intimation of the intended murder of Riccio ; that she was made fully acquainted with the determination to secure the person of the Scottish queen, and create a revolution in the government. Moray's share in the conspiracy, and his consent to the assassination of the foreign secretary, are established by the same letter beyond a doubt ; and we see the declared object of the plot was, to put an end to his banishment, to replace him in the power which he had lost, and, by one decided and triumphant blow, to destroy the schemes which were in agitation for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland. It is of great

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, March 6, 1565, Berwick. Earl of Bedford and Thomas Randolph to Secretary Cecil, endorsed by Cecil's clerk, *Earl of Bedford and Mr Randolph to my Mr.*

moment to attend to the conduct of Elizabeth at this crisis. She knew all that was about to occur: the life of Riccio, the liberty—perhaps, too, the life—of Mary was in her hands; Moray was at her court; the conspirators were at her devotion; they had given the fullest information to Randolph, that he might consult the queen: she might have imprisoned Moray, discomfited the plans of the conspirators, saved the life of the miserable victim who was marked for slaughter, and preserved Mary, to whom she professed a warm attachment, from captivity. All this might have been done; perhaps it is not too much to say, that even in these dark times it would have been done, by a monarch acutely alive to the common feelings of humanity. But Elizabeth adopted a very different course: she not only allowed Moray to leave her realm, she dismissed him with marks of the highest confidence and distinction; and this baron, when ready to set out for Scotland, to take his part in those dark transactions which soon after followed, sent his secretary, Wood, to acquaint Cecil with the most secret intentions of the conspirators.¹

Whilst these terrible designs were in preparation against her, some hints of approaching danger were conveyed to the Scottish queen; but she imprudently disregarded them. Riccio, too, received a mysterious caution from Damiot an astrologer, whom he used to consult, and who bade him beware of the bastard, evidently alluding to George Douglas, the natural son of the Earl of Angus, and one of the chief conspirators; but he imagined that he pointed at Moray, then in

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, March 8th, 1565-6, Newcastle, Moray to Cecil. See also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Bedford to Cecil, Berwick, March 8th, 1565-6. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Bedford and Randolph to Leicester and Cecil, Berwick, March 8th, 1565-6.

banishment, and derided his apprehensions.¹ Meantime every thing was in readiness; a large concourse of the friends of the reformed church assembled at Edinburgh for the week of fasting and humiliation: directions for prayer and sermons had been previously drawn up by Knox and the ministers, and the subjects chosen were such as seemed calculated to prepare the public mind for resistance, violence, and bloodshed. They were selected from the Old Testament alone, and included, amongst other examples, the slaying of Oreb and Zeeb, the cutting off the Benjamites, the fast of Esther, the hanging of Haman, inculcating the duty of inflicting swift and summary vengeance on all who persecuted the people of God.²

On the 3d of March the fast commenced in the capital, and on the 4th parliament assembled. It was opened by the queen in person, and the Lords of the Articles having been chosen, the statute of treason and forfeiture against Moray and the banished lords was prepared. This was on a Thursday; and on Tuesday, in the following week, the act was to be passed; but it was fearfully arrested in its progress.³

On Saturday evening, about seven o'clock, when it was dark, the Earls of Morton and Lindsay, with a hundred and fifty men bearing torches and weapons, occupied the court of the palace of Holyrood, seized the gates without resistance, and closed them against all but their own friends. At this moment Mary was at supper in a small closet or cabinet, which entered

¹ Spottiswood, p. 194.

² Knox, pp. 340, 341. Treatise on Fasting, &c., a rare tract. Edinburgh, 1565, Lekprevik. Kindly communicated to me by my friend Mr James Chalmers; and Goodal, vol. i. pp. 248, 249.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Bedford and Randolph to Leicester and Cecil, Berwick, 8th March, 1565-6. Ibid. Same to the Queen, 6th March, 1565-6.

from her bed-chamber. She was attended by the Countess of Argyle, the Commendator of Holyrood, Beaton master of the household, Arthur Erskine captain of the guard, and her secretary, Riccio. The bed-chamber communicated by a secret turnpike stair with the king's apartment below, to which the conspirators had been admitted ; and Darnley, ascending this stair, threw up the arras which concealed its opening in the wall, entered the little apartment where Mary sat, and, casting his arm fondly round her waist, seated himself beside her at table. A minute had scarcely passed when Ruthven, clad in complete armour, abruptly broke in. This man had just risen from a sick-bed, his features were sunk and pale from disease, his voice hollow, and his whole appearance haggard and terrible. Mary, who was now seven months gone with child, started up in terror, commanding him to be gone ; but ere the words were uttered, torches gleamed in the outer room, a confused noise of voices and weapons was heard, and the next moment George Douglas, Car of Faudonside, and other conspirators, rushed into the closet.¹ Ruthven now drew his dagger, and calling out that their business was with Riccio, made an effort to seize him ; whilst this miserable victim, springing behind the queen, clung by her gown, and in his broken language called out, “Giustizia, Giustizia! sauve ma vie, Madame, sauve ma vie!”² All was now uproar and confusion ; and though Mary earnestly implored them to have mercy, they were deaf to her entreaties : the table and lights were thrown down ; Riccio was stabbed by Douglas over the queen's shoulder ; Car of Faudonside, one of

¹ Mary to the Bishop of Glasgow, 2d April, 1566. Keith, p. 330. Also, Bedford and Randolph to the Council, 27th March, 1566. Ellis, vol. ii. first series, p. 207. Morton and Ruthven's Narrative. Caligula, book ix. fol. 219, more full than that in Keith, App. 120, which is a copy.

² Birrel's Diary, p. 5.

the most ferocious of the conspirators, held a pistol to her breast ; and whilst she shrieked with terror, their bleeding victim was torn from her knees, and dragged, amidst shouts and execrations, through the queen's bedroom to the entrance of the presence chamber. Here Morton and his men rushed upon him, and buried their daggers in his body. So eager and reckless were they in their ferocity, that in the struggle to get at him they wounded one another ; nor did they think the work complete till the body was mangled by fifty-six wounds, and left in a pool of blood, with the king's dagger sticking in it, to show, as was afterwards alleged, that he had sanctioned the murder.¹

Nothing can more strongly show the ferocious manners of the times than an incident which now occurred. Ruthven, faint from sickness, and reeking from the scene of blood, staggered into the queen's cabinet, where Mary still stood distracted and in terror of her life. Here he threw himself upon a seat, called for a cup of wine, and being reproached for the cruelty of his conduct, not only vindicated himself and his associates, but plunged a new dagger into the heart of the unhappy queen, by declaring that her husband had advised the whole. She was then ignorant of the completion of the murder, but suddenly one of her ladies rushed into the room and cried out that their victim was slain. "And is it so !" said Mary ; "then farewell tears, we must now think of revenge."²

Having finished the first act of this tragedy, the

¹ Drury to Cecil, B.C. Berwick, 27th March, 1566, "David had 56 wounds, whereof 34 was in his back." "Such desire," says Drury, "was to have him surely and speedily slain, that in jabbing at him so many at once, as some bestowed their daggers where neither they meant it not, nor the receivers willing to have it ; as one can, for his own good, now in this town, (a follower to my Lord Ruthven) be too true a testimony, who carries the bag in [on] his hand."

² Morton and Ruthven's Narrative, *ut supra*. Spottiswood, p. 195.

conspirators proceeded to follow out their preconcerted measures. The queen was kept a prisoner in her apartment, and strictly guarded. The king, assuming the sole power, addressed his royal letters dissolving the parliament, and commanding the estates to leave the capital within three hours, on pain of treason; orders were despatched to the magistrates, enjoining them with their city force to keep a vigilant watch, and suffer none but Protestants to leave their houses; and to Morton the chancellor, with his armed retainers, was intrusted the guarding the gates of the palace, with strict injunction that none should escape from it.¹

This, however, amid the tumult of a midnight murder, was not so easy a task. Huntley and Bothwell contrived to elude the guards. Sir James Balfour and James Melvil were equally fortunate; and as this last gentleman passed beneath the queen's window, she threw up the sash, and implored him to warn the citizens to save her from the traitors who had her in their power: soon after the common bell was heard ringing, so speedily had the message been carried; and the chief magistrate, with a body of armed townsmen, rushed confusedly into the palace court, demanding the instant deliverance of their sovereign. But Mary in vain implored to speak with them; she was dragged back from the window by the ruffians, who threatened to cut her in pieces if she attempted to show herself; and in her stead the pusillanimous Darnley was thrust forward. He addressed the citizens, assured them that both he and the queen were in safety, and, commanding them on their allegiance to go home, was instantly obeyed.²

¹ Morton and Ruthven's Narrative. Keith, Appendix, p. 126.

² Mary to Archbishop Beaton, 2d April, 1565-6, in Keith, p. 332. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 150.

Thus ended all hope of rescue ; but although baffled in this attempt, secluded even from her women, trembling and justly fearing for her life, the queen's courage and presence of mind did not forsake her. She remonstrated with her husband ; she even condescended to reason with Ruthven, who replied in rude and upbraiding terms ; and at last, exhausted with this effort, she would have sunk down had they not called for her ladies and left her to repose. Next morning all the horrors of her condition broke fully upon her : she was a prisoner in the hands of a band of assassins ; they were led by her husband, who watched all her motions ; he had already assumed the royal power, she was virtually dethroned ; who could tell what dark purposes might not be meditated against her person. These thoughts agitated her to excess, and threw her into a fever, in which she imagined the ferocious Ruthven was coming to murder her ; and shrieking out that she was abandoned by all, was threatened with miscarriage. The piteous sight revived Darnley's affection ; her gentlewomen were admitted, and the danger passed away ; yet so strong was the suspicion with which she was guarded, that no lady was allowed to pass "muffled" from the queen's chamber.¹

It was now Sunday night, the murder had been committed late on Saturday evening ; and, according to their previous concert, Moray, Rothes, and Ochiltree, with others of the banished lords, arrived in the capital and instantly rode to the palace. They were welcomed by Darnley ; and so little did Mary suspect Moray's foreknowledge of the murder, that she instantly sent for him, and throwing herself into his arms in an agony of tears, exclaimed, " If my brother

¹ Morton and Ruthven's Narrative. Keith, Appendix, pp. 127, 128.

had been here he never would have suffered me to have been thus cruelly handled." The sight overcame him, and he is reported to have wept; but, if sincere, his compunction was momentary, for, from the queen he repaired to Morton, and in a meeting with the whole conspirators, it was resolved to shut up their sovereign in Stirling castle, to compel her to give the crown and the whole government of the realm to Darnley, and to confirm the Protestant religion under the penalty of death or perpetual imprisonment.¹

Meanwhile, Mary's spirit and courage revived. She perceived that her influence over her husband was not at an end; and exerting those powers of fascination and persuasive language which she possessed in so high a degree, she succeeded in alarming his fears, and awaking his love. She represented to him, that he was surrendering himself a tool into the hands of her enemies and his own: if they had belied her honour, if they had periled her life, and that of his unborn infant, could he believe that, when he alone stood between them and their ambition, they would hesitate to destroy him. Already he might see they took the power into their own hands, and when he sent his servants to her, refused to admit them; and then the flagrant falsehood of accusing him as a party to so base a murder, a deed which, had he really contemplated, (but this she was assured he never had,) must cover him with infamy in the eyes of the country, and of the world. Their only safety lay in escaping together. "If," said she, "it is your wish, I am ready to forgive even the bloody men whose atrocious act you have just witnessed. Go and tell them so; but let them treat me as a free queen; let them remove their guards, avoid the palace

¹ Mary to Beaton. Keith, p. 332.

which they have polluted with blood, and I will sign a written pardon for them on the spot." Darnley was won by her arguments, and becoming terrified for the consequences of the murder, took refuge in falsehood, denied all connexion with the conspiracy, and placed himself in the hands of Mary with the same facility which had lately made him the slave of the conspirators. Ruthven and Morton, however, were not so easily deceived, and insisted that the queen meant only to betray them. The king replied, she was a true princess; that he would stake his life for her faith and honour,¹ and led the conspirators to her presence, where she heard their defence, assured them of her readiness to pardon, and sent them away to draw up a writing for their security. They did so, delivered the paper to Darnley, left the palace, removed the guards, and permitted the servants of the household to resume their charge. To lull suspicion the queen retired to rest, and Ruthven and his associates, deeming all safe, betook themselves to the house of Morton the chancellor, as we have seen, one of the chief actors in the murder; but at midnight Mary rose, threw herself upon a fleet horse, and, accompanied only by the king and Arthur Erskine, fled to Dunbar. The news of her escape flew through the land; her nobles, Huntley, Athole, Bothwell, and multitudes of barons and gentlemen, crowded round her; and in the morning Morton, Ruthven, and the rest of the conspirators, awoke only to hear that their victim had eluded their grasp, that an army of her subjects had already assembled at Dunbar, and that the penalties of treason were suspended over their heads.

¹ This assertion of Darnley, which gives a direct contradiction to the story of Mary's alleged passion for Riccio, rests on the evidence of Lord Ruthven, who was present. See his Narrative of the murder in Keith, Appendix, p. 128.

Mary thus escaped ; and it is impossible to withhold our admiration of the coolness, judgment, and courage, exhibited by a woman under the dreadful circumstances in which she was called upon to exert these qualities. If we blame her duplicity, let it be remembered that her own life, and that of her infant, were in jeopardy ; that there was nothing unreasonable in the idea that the ruffians who had torn her secretary from her knees, and murdered him in her chamber, might, before many hours were over, be induced to repeat the deed upon herself. We may gather, indeed, from the dark and indefinite expressions of Randolph, in describing the approaching assassination, that their intentions, if she resisted their wishes, vacillated between murder and perpetual captivity.

Once more free, the queen acted with her usual spirit and decision. Having regained her ascendancy over the king, she obtained from this weak prince a disclosure of the chief persons engaged in the conspiracy. It would appear, however, that Darnley concealed Moray's guilt, and only denounced Morton, Ruthven, and other associates. Against them the queen took instant steps. She summoned her people to attend her in arms, directed a writ of treason to be issued against the chancellor, Lethington, and their accomplices, and advanced at the head of a force of eight thousand men to the capital.¹ Aware of this, the conspirators fled with the utmost precipitation. Morton, Ruthven, Brunston, and Andrew Car, took instant refuge in England ; others, scattered hither and thither, concealed themselves in their own country. Knox, in great agony of spirit, and groaning over the church and his flock, buried himself in the friendly recesses of

¹ Knox, History, p. 437.

Kyle, and Lethington hastened to gain the mountain fastnesses of Athole. It was remarkable that Craig, the colleague of Knox, did not leave the city.¹

To the English queen, and her brother the Earl of Moray, Mary had a more difficult part to act, whilst she felt equal embarrassment as to the degree of confidence to be given to the king. We have seen incontrovertible proof that Moray was a party to the murder, though not a perpetrator of it ; that Elizabeth was accessory to the conspiracy, and that Darnley and his father Lennox were the original contrivers of the whole ; but of all this Mary at this moment was ignorant. Elizabeth, on being informed of the outrage, expressed the deepest sympathy and indignation ; Moray affected an equal abhorrence of every thing that had occurred. Darnley not only denounced his former friends, but busied himself in bringing them to justice. The queen, therefore, without renouncing her resolution to punish the murder with the utmost rigour, deemed it prudent in the first instance to secure the active assistance of Elizabeth, to strengthen her ties with France, and to promote a reconciliation amongst her nobility, many of whom were at feud with each other : Bothwell, who during the late disturbances had vigorously exerted himself for his sovereign, was the enemy of Moray and Lethington ; Athole, with whom Lethington had taken refuge, was at variance with Argyle ; and the differences amongst the leading barons as usual extended their ramifications through all their retainers and dependents.

It says much for the judgment of the queen that her

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Berwick, 21st March, 1565. M'Crie's Life of Knox, p. 254. I quote from the new and excellent edition of this work by Dr Crichton. See also Knox's Prayer, dated 12th March, 1565-6, subjoined to his answer to Tyrie.

efforts to compose these fatal differences were successful. Moray and Bothwell were reconciled, Argyle and Athole agreed to suspend their contests, and Mary seemed even disposed to pardon Morton, Lethington, and the principal conspirators, if the extension of mercy could have brought back peace and security to her kingdom.¹ But this intended leniency only brought upon her more sorrow. Her weak and treacherous husband became alarmed, and more loudly denounced his late friends who had murdered Riccio. This conduct enraged them to the utmost, and they retaliated by again accusing him, in more distinct and positive terms than before, of being the sole instigator and contriver of the murder. To prove this, they laid the “bands,” or covenants, before the queen; and the dreadful truth broke upon her in all its sickening and heartrending force.² She now understood for the first time that the king was the principal conspirator against her, the defamer of her honour, the plotter against her liberty and her crown, the almost murderer of herself and her unborn child; he was convicted as a traitor and a liar, false to his own honour, false to her, false to his associates in crime. At this moment Mary must have felt, that to have leant upon a husband whom she could trust, might, amid the terrible plots with which she was surrounded, have been the means of saving herself and her crown; but on Darnley she could never lean again. Can we wonder that her heart was almost broken by the discovery; that, to use the words

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, 2d April, 1566; and ibid. Robert Melvil to Cecil, Edinburgh, 3d April, 1566.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Berwick, 4th April. “The queen hath now seen all the covenants and bands that passed between the king and the lords. And now findeth that his declaration before her and the council, of his innocency of the death of David, was false.”

of Melvil, she should have loudly lamented the king's folly and unthankfulness, that she was compelled to withdraw from him all confidence, and in solitary bitterness to act entirely for herself.

But if such were the queen's feelings towards the young king, those of the conspirators whom he had betrayed were of a sterner kind. Even in those flagitious days, there were sanctions, the disregard of which covered a man with infamy and contempt, and amongst these, one of the most sacred was fidelity to the written "bands" by which the feudal barons were bound to each other. To one of these Darnley, as we have seen, had become a principal; his fellow conspirators had performed their promise; he had not only broken his, and denied all accession to the plot, but had betrayed the principal actors, and meanly purchased his own safety by their destruction. The consequence was, the utmost indignation and a thirst for revenge upon the part of Morton, Moray, Lethington, and their associates, which, there is reason to believe, increased in intensity till it was assuaged only in his death. These feelings of indignation were not confined to the fugitive lords. Mary avoided his company, and forbade her friends to give him any countenance. She promoted Joseph Riccio, David's brother, who had arrived in the suite of Mauvissiere, the French ambassador, to the dangerous vacancy caused by the murder,¹ and at last became so impatient and miserable under the ties by which she was bound to her husband, that she entertained the extraordinary design of retiring to France, and intrusting the government of her kingdom

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, Berwick, 20th April, 1566. Also, same to same, B.C. Berwick, April 26, 1566. See also, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Sir Th. Hoby to Cecil, 29th April, 1566.

to a regency, composed of five of her principal lords, Moray, Mar, Huntley, Athole, and Bothwell.¹ Another scheme which at this moment occupied her mind, was the possibility of obtaining a divorce, on which errand, it was reported, she had sent a messenger, named Thornton, to Rome.²

Her feelings, however, though keen, were not bitter or lasting. As the period of her confinement drew near, her resentment softened towards the king. At this moment her mind had become haunted with the terror that Morton and his savage associates, whose hands were stained with the blood of Riccio, had determined to break in upon her, during her labour: but the assurances of the English queen, who sent her word that she had dismissed him from her dominions, (which was not strictly true,) restored her to composure.³ Uncertain that she should survive her confinement, she called for her nobility, took measures regarding the government of the kingdom, made her will, became reconciled to the king, and personally arranged every thing either for life or death.⁴

On the 19th of June she was delivered of a prince in the castle of Edinburgh, and immediately despatched Sir James Melvil to carry the news to Elizabeth. The English queen received the intelligence with her usual duplicity. From Cecil, who saw her before Melvil was admitted, and whispered the unwelcome news in her ear as she was dancing at Greenwich,

¹ MS. letter, copy, Lethington to Randolph, 27th April, 1566. *Caligula*, book ix. fol. 244.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Berwick, 25th April, 1566.

³ Ibid. June 13, 1566. Also, ibid. Killigrew to Cecil, Edinburgh, July 4, 1566. Also, ibid. June 24, 1566.

⁴ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Berwick, June 7, 1566.

after supper, she could not conceal her feelings. All mirth was at an end; she sat down, leant her cheek on her hand, and then burst forth in lamentations to her ladies, that she was a barren stock, whilst the Queen of Scots was the mother of a fair son. When Melvil had audience next morning, every thing was serene. His tidings, she said, gave her the utmost joy, and had cured her of a fifteen days' sickness. She promised also, in reply to his urgent request, that there should be a speedy settlement of the question of the succession.¹

Meanwhile Mary recovered, and assured of the continuance of amicable relations with England, applied herself with her usual energy to heal the dissensions amongst her nobles, to conduct internal tranquillity, and to re-establish a firm government. The great difficulty was, the conduct to be pursued with Morton and the banished lords; and the queen soon became convinced, that she must sacrifice her own feelings and adopt a lenient course, if she wished to recover her power. Amongst her nobility there was no want of talents or energy; the difficulty was to attach them to the crown, to heal their feuds amongst themselves, to prevent their intrigues with England. So long as Lethington was in disgrace, and the murderers of Riccio were banished, these ends could not be gained. The queen, therefore, listened to the intercession of Moray, whom she now treated with great confidence. Lethington was reconciled to Bothwell, and pardoned; the Lairds of Brunston, Ormiston, Hatton, and Calder, the leaders of the church party, were received into favour; but Knox still continued in his retreat, and there appears to have been some special rigour mani-

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Killigrew to Cecil, 24th June, 1566, Melvil's *Memoirs*, Bannatyne edition, p. 161.

fested against him on the part of the queen.¹ Morton, the arch-conspirator, with his assistants, Lindsay and Ruthven, were still proscribed ; but Moray, Bothwell, Argyle, Athole, and Lethington, who now acted together, exerted themselves unremittingly to procure their restoration, and the queen, it was evident, began to think of permitting their return.²

This intended mercy enraged the young king, and appears to have driven him upon foolish and dangerous courses : as his opponents were mostly Protestants, he began to intrigue with the Romanists, and went so far as to write secretly to the pope, arraigning the conduct of the queen, in delaying to restore the mass. When his letters were intercepted, and his practices discovered, he complained bitterly of the neglect into which he had fallen ; affirmed that he had no share in the government ; accused the nobles of a plot against his life ; and at last formed the desperate resolution of leaving the kingdom, and remonstrating to foreign powers against the cruelty with which he was treated.³ This mad project alarmed his father, Lennox, who communicated his fears to the queen, and Mary made an earnest attempt to restore him to his duty. The interview and remonstrances to which this led are of much importance, in estimating the dark charges afterwards brought against Mary ; and we fortunately know the whole particulars from the lords of the council, before whom it took place, and also from the French ambassador, De Croc, who was present. The queen, it appears, had at first affectionately, and in private, implored Darnley to disclose the causes of his

¹ M'Crie's Life of Knox, p. 254.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Forster to Cecil, September 19, 1566.

³ Monsieur De Croc's Letter to Archbishop Beaton, printed by Keith, p. 345, from the original, then in the Scots College, Paris.

grief. “The queen,” said the lords of the council, addressing the queen-mother,¹ “condescended so far as to go and meet the king without the palace, and so conducted him into her own apartment, where he remained all night; and then her majesty entered calmly with him upon the subject of his going abroad, that she might understand from himself the occasion of such a resolution. But he would by no means give or acknowledge that he had any occasion offered him of discontent. The lords of the council, being acquainted early next morning that the king was just agoing to return to Stirling, they repaired to the queen’s apartment, and no other persons being present, except their lordships, and Monsieur De Croc, whom they prayed to assist with them, as being here on the part of your majesty.”

The occasion of their meeting together was then, with all humility and reverence due to their majesties, proposed; namely, to understand from the king, whether, according to advice imparted to the queen by the Earl of Lennox, he had formed a resolution to depart by sea out of the realm, and on what ground, and for what end? That if his resolution proceeded from some discontent, they were earnest to know what persons had afforded an occasion for the same? That if he could complain of any of the subjects of the realm, be they of what quality soever, the fault should be immediately repaired to his satisfaction. “And here,” they continued, “we did remonstrate to him, that his own honour, the queen’s honour, the honour of us all, were concerned; for if, without just occasion ministered, he would retire from the place where he had received so

¹ Lords of the privy council to the Queen-mother, October 8, 1566. Keith, p. 347, being a translation from a copy then in the Scots College at Paris.

much honour, and abandon the society of her to whom he is so far obliged, that in order to advance him she has humbled herself, and from being his sovereign had surrendered herself to be his wife; if he should act in this sort, the whole world would blame him as ingrate, regardless of the friendship the queen bare him, and utterly unworthy to possess the place to which she had exalted him. On the other hand, that if any just occasion had been given him, it behoved the same to be very important, since it inclined him to relinquish so beautiful a queen, and noble realm; and the same must have been afforded him either by the queen herself, or by us her ministers. As for us, we professed ourselves ready to do him all the justice he could demand. And for her majesty, so far was she from ministering to him occasion of discontent, that, on the contrary, he had all the reason in the world to thank God for giving him so wise and virtuous a person, as she had showed herself in all her actions.

“Then her majesty,” so the letter goes, “was pleased to enter into the discourse, and spoke affectionately to him, beseeching him that, seeing he would not open his mind in private to her the last night, according to her most earnest request, he would, at least, be pleased to declare, before these lords, where she had offended him any thing. She likewise said, that she had a clear conscience, that in all her life she had done no action which could any way prejudge either his or her own honour; but nevertheless, that as she might perhaps have given him offence without design, she was willing to make amends as far as he should require, and therefore prayed him not to dissemble the occasion of his displeasure, if any he had, nor to spare her in the least matter. But though the queen and all others that were present, together with Monsieur De Croc, used

all the interest they were able, to persuade him to open his mind, yet he would not at all own that he intended any voyage, or had any discontent, and declared freely that the queen had given him no occasion for any."¹ Such is the account given of this important interview by the lords of the council; and Monsieur De Croc, in writing a week afterwards to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador in France, was equally explicit in describing the affectionate conduct of the queen, and the strange and wayward proceedings of Darnley. He then added this remarkable sentence: "It is in vain to imagine that he shall be able to raise any disturbance; for there is not one person in all this kingdom, from the highest to the lowest, that regards him any farther than is agreeable to the queen. And I never saw her majesty so much beloved, esteemed, and honoured, nor so great a harmony amongst all her subjects as at present is, by her wise conduct; for I cannot perceive the smallest difference or division."²

Yet neither the temperate conduct of the queen, the remonstrances of the council, nor the neglect into which he found himself daily sinking, produced any amendment in Darnley. He persisted in his project of leaving the kingdom; denounced Lethington, the justice-clerk Bellenden, and Makgill the clerk-register, as principal conspirators against Riccio; insisted that they should be deprived of their offices; and became an object of dislike and suspicion not only to Mary, but to all that powerful and now united party, by

¹ Lords of the privy council to the Queen-mother. Keith, p. 347. The letter is dated Oct. 8, 1566.

² Letter from Monsieur De Croc to Archbishop Beaton, dated Oct. 15, 1566, published by Keith, p. 348, being a translation from the original then in the Scots College, Paris.

whom she was surrounded.¹ Its leaders, Moray, Lethington, Argyle, and Bothwell, saw in him the bitter opponent of Morton's pardon. The faction of the church hated him for his intrigues with Rome;² Cecil, and the party of Elizabeth, suspected him of practices with the English Roman Catholics;³ the Hamiltons had always looked on him with dislike, as an obstacle between them and their hopes of succession; and the queen bitterly repented that she was tied to a wayward and intemperate person, who had already endangered her life and her crown, and was constantly thwarting every measure which promised the restoration of tranquillity and good government.

When such was the state of matters between the king and queen, disturbances broke out upon the borders, and rendered it necessary for Mary to repair in person to these districts, for the purpose of holding courts for the trial of delinquents.⁴ Her lieutenant, or warden of the borders, at this time, was the Earl of Bothwell; and him she despatched, at the head of a considerable force, to reduce the Elliots, Armstrongs, and other offenders, to something like subjection, before she herself repaired to the spot. So far as this task went, Bothwell was well fitted for it. He was of high rank, possessed a daring and martial spirit, and his unshaken attachment to her interests, at a time when the queen had suffered from the desertion of almost every other servant, made him a favourite with a princess who esteemed bravery and fidelity above

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Forster to Cecil, May 16, 1566, Alnwick. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, May 13, 1566, Berwick.

² Knox's History, p. 348. Glasgow edition, by M'Gavin, 1832.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Rogers to Cecil, July 5, 1566, Oxford.

⁴ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Scrope to Cecil, Carlisle, Oct. 6, 1566. Also, ibid. B.C. same to the same, Oct. 8, 1566.

all other virtues. But, unfortunately for Mary, he possessed other and more dangerous qualities.¹ His ambition and audacity were unbounded. He was a man of notorious gallantry, and had spent a loose life on the continent, from which, it was said, he had imported some of its worst vices. In attaining the objects of his ambition he was perfectly unscrupulous as to the means he employed, and he had generally about him a band of broken and desperate men, with whom his office of border warden made him familiar ; hardened and murderous villains, who were ready on the moment to obey every command of their master. In one respect, Bothwell was certainly better than many of his brother nobles. There seems to have been little craft or hypocrisy about him, and he made no attempt to conceal his infirmities or vices under the cloak of religion. It is not unlikely, that for this reason, Mary, who had experienced his fidelity to the crown, was more disposed to trust him in any difficulty, than those stern and fanatical leaders, who, with religion on their lips, were often equally indifferent as to the means which they employed. It is certain, that from this time she began to treat him with great favour, and to be guided by a preference so predominant, that it was not unlikely to be mistaken for a more tender feeling. This partiality of the queen for Bothwell, was early detected by Moray, Lethington, and their associates : they observed that his vanity was flattered by the favour shown him by his sovereign ; they artfully fanned the flame, and encouraged an ambition, already daring enough, to aspire to a height which he had never dreamt of ; and it is the opinion of Sir James Melvil, who spoke from personal observation, that Bothwell's

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, Edinburgh, Sept. 20, 1565.

plot for the murder of his sovereign, and the possession of the queen's person, had its origin about this time, when she despatched him to suppress the disturbances in Liddesdale.¹

After the singular scene before the privy council and the French ambassador, the king left the court; and the queen, accompanied by her ministers and the officers of her household, set out on her progress to the borders. At this moment these districts were in a state of great disorder; a feud raged between the Armstrongs and the Johnstons, two of the fiercest and most numerous septs in that part of the country.² The arrival of Bothwell, the queen's lieutenant, with a commission to reduce them to obedience, rather increased the disturbances; and in an attempt to apprehend Elliot of Park, a notorious marauder, the earl was grievously wounded, and left for dead on the field. An account of the sanguinary skirmish in which this happened, was immediately sent by Lord Scrope to Secretary Cecil. "I have," said he, "presently gotten intelligence out of Scotland, that the Earl of Bothwell, being in Liddesdale for the apprehension of certain disordered persons there, had apprehended the Lairds of Merton and Whitehaugh, with sundry other Armstrongs of their surname and kindred, whom he had put within the Hermitage.³ And yesterday, going about to take such like persons of the Elliots, in pursuit of them, his lordship, being foremost, and far before his company, encountered one John Elliot of the Park, hand to hand, and shot him through the thigh with a dag,⁴ upon

¹ Melvil's Memoirs, pp. 170, 173. Melvil, who wrote probably from memory, erroneously places the baptism of the prince before the skirmish in Liddesdale, when Bothwell was wounded.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Scrope to Cecil, Carlisle, Oct. 6, 1566.

³ A strong castle in that district.

⁴ A pistol.

which wound, the man feeling himself in peril of death, with a two handed sword assailed the earl so cruelly, that he killed him ere he could get any rescue or succour of his men.”¹ Bothwell, however, though severely wounded, was not slain as at first reported, but having revived, was carried off the field to his castle of the Hermitage.

This accident happened on the 7th of October, and on the next day, the 8th, the queen arrived at Jedburgh, and opened her court.² The proceedings against the various delinquents who were brought before it, occupied her uninterruptedly until the 15th, on which day she rode to the Hermitage, and visited the Earl of Bothwell, who lay there confined by his wounds. The object of the visit appears to have been to hold a conference with the earl on the state of that disturbed district, of which he was the governor. Mary was accompanied by Moray and others of her officers, in whose presence she communicated with Bothwell; afterwards, on the same day, she returned to Jedburgh;³ and Lord Scrope, who immediately informed Cecil of the visit, added the precise information, that she had remained two hours at the castle, to Bothwell’s great pleasure and contentment.⁴

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Lord Scrope to Cecil, Carlisle, Oct. 8, 1566. Also, MS. letter, ibid. Sir John Forster to Cecil, Oct. 23, 1566, Berwick.

² Chalmers, vol. i. p. 190, 4to edition.

³ Caligula, B. iv. 104, dorso. Fragment of a contemporary history of Mary Queen of Scots in French.

⁴ MS. Life of Mary Queen of Scots. — “Sa majeste fut requise et conseillé d’aller visiter en une maison appellé Hermitage, pour entendre de luy l’estat des affaires de pays de quel le dit Sieur [Bothwell] estait gouverneur hereditairement. Pour ceste occasion elle y alla en diligence, accompagne du Conte de Murray, et autres seigneurs, en presence desquelles elle communiqua avec le dit Sieur Compte, et s’en retourna le mesme jour à Jedwood, ou le lendemain elle tomba malade.” Caligula, B. iv. 104, dorso.

Laing in his account of this visit, and the arguments he deduces from

Such a visit was undoubtedly a flattering mark of regard paid by a sovereign to a subject ; but he was of high rank and in high office, he had nearly lost his life in the execution of his duty, and he was a favourite with the queen.

Immediately after her return, Mary was seized with a dangerous fever, which ran its course with an alarming rapidity, and for ten days caused the physicians to despair of her life. Its origin was traced by some to the fatigue of her long ride to the Hermitage ; but her secretary, Lethington, with greater probability, in a letter written to Beaton, the Scottish ambassador in France, ascribed her illness to distress of mind occasioned by the cruel and ungrateful conduct of the king.¹ “The occasion of the queen’s sickness,” said he, “so far as I can understand, is caused of thought and displeasure ; and I trow, by what I could wring further of her own declaration to me, the root of it is the king. For she has done him so great honour without the advice of her friends, and contrary to the advice of her subjects, and he, on the other hand, has compensated her with such ingratitude, and misuses himself so far towards her, that it is a heartbreak to her to think that he should be her husband, and how to be free of him she has no outgait.”²

During this alarming sickness, Mary believed herself dying ; and an interesting account of her behaviour has come down to us from her confidential servants who were present, Secretary Lethington, the Bishop

it, has implicitly adopted the mistakes of Buchanan, and derides the account of my grandfather in his *Vindication of Queen Mary*, which is far nearer the truth than his own. The letter of Lord Scrope to Cecil, written at the moment, and not known to either of these authors, gives us the whole truth.

¹ Sloan MSS. British Museum, 3199, fol. 141. Lethington to Archbishop Beaton, Oct. 24, 1566.

² *Ibid.* Out-gait—way of getting out.

of Ross, and the French ambassador, De Croc. She expressed her entire resignation to the will of God; she exhorted her nobility, in pathetic terms, to remain in unity and peace with each other, employing their utmost diligence in the government of the kingdom and the education of her son; she sent her affectionate remembrances by De Croc to the French king and her relatives in that country, and declared her constant mind to die in the Catholic faith.¹ To the great joy of those around her at this moment, she recovered, and although much weakened, proceeded in her progress to Kelso, and thence by Dunbar to Craigmillar, near Edinburgh.

But if there was a recovery of bodily health, there was no return to peace of mind. During the height of her illness, the king had never come to see her, and a visit which he made when the danger was past, produced no effect in removing their unhappy estrangement.² At this moment her condition, as described by an eye-witness, Monsieur De Croc, was pitiable and affecting: she seemed to have fallen into a profound melancholy. "The queen," said this ambassador, writing to the Archbishop of Glasgow, on the 2d December, "is for the present at Craigmillar, about a league distant from this city. She is in the hands of the physicians; and I do assure you is not at all well, and I do believe the principal part of her disease to consist of a deep grief and sorrow. Nor does it seem possible to make her forget the same. Still she repeats

¹ Letter, Lesley bishop of Ross to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Jedburgh, Oct. 27, 1566. Keith, Appendix, No. xiv. p. 134. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Oct. 24, 1566, Lethington to Cecil; also the council to Archbiishop Beaton, Oct. 23, 1566. Keith, Appendix, No. xiv. p. 133.

² Extract in Keith, p. 352, from a letter of De Croc, dated 24th Oct. 1566.

these words, ‘I could wish to be dead.’ You know very well, that the injury she has received is exceeding great, and her majesty will never forget it. The king her husband came to visit her at Jedburgh, the very day after Captain Hay went away. He remained there but one single night, and yet in that short time I had a great deal of conversation with him. He returned to see the queen about five or six days ago ; and the day before yesterday he sent word to desire me to speak with him half a league from this, which I complied with, and found that things go still worse and worse. I think he intends to go away to-morrow ; but in any event, I am much assured, as I have always been, that he won’t be present at the baptism. To speak my mind freely to you, (but I beg you not to disclose what I say in any place that may turn to my prejudice,) I do not expect, upon several accounts, any good understanding between them, unless God effectually put to his hand. I shall only name two : the first reason is, the king will never humble himself as he ought ; the other is, the queen can’t perceive any one nobleman speaking with the king, but presently she suspects some contrivance among them.”¹

At this moment, when matters between the king and queen were in so miserable a state, the faction opposed to Darnley, which was led by Moray, Lethington, and Bothwell, held a consultation with Huntley and Argyle at Craigmillar, and there proposed a scheme to Mary for putting an end to her sorrows. This was, to unite their efforts to procure a divorce between her and her husband, stipulating as a preliminary that she should pardon the Earl of Morton and his accomplices

¹ Translation by Keith, from part of an original letter of Monsieur De Croc, dated 2d Dec. 1566, preserved at that time amongst the MSS. of the Scots College at Paris. Keith, p. vii. of his prefatory matter.

in the murder of Riccio. When their design was first intimated by these noblemen to the queen, she professed her willingness to consent to it, under the conditions that the process of divorce should be legal, and that its effect should not prejudice the rights of her son. It was remarked that, after the divorce, Darnley had better live in a remote part of the country, at a distance from the queen, or retire to France. Upon which Mary, relenting, drew back from the proposal, expressed a hope that he might return to a better mind, and professed her own willingness to pass into France and remain there till he acknowledged his faults. To this Maitland the secretary made this remarkable reply, hinting darkly that, rather than subject their queen to such an indignity as retiring from her kingdom, it would be better to substitute murder for divorce : “ Madam,” said he, “ soucy¹ ye not we are here of the principal of your grace’s nobility and council, that shall not find the mean² well to make your majesty quit of him without prejudice of your son ; and albeit that my Lord of Moray, here present, be little less scrupulous for a Protestant nor [than] your grace is for a Papist, I am assured he will look through his fingers thereto, and will behold our doings, and say nothing thereto.”³ This speech alarmed the queen, who instantly replied, that it was her pleasure nothing should be done by which any spot might be laid upon her honour. “ Better,” said she, “ permit the matter remain in the state it is, abiding till God in his goodness put remedy thereto, [than] that ye, believing to do me service, may possibly turn to my hurt or displeasure.” To this Lethington replied : “ Madam, let

¹ French ; mind ye not, *se soucier*.

² In original the *moyen*.

³ Anderson’s Collections, vol. iv. p. 192 ; and contemporary copy, State-paper Office.

us to guide the business among us, and your grace shall see nothing but good, and approved by parliament." ¹

Such was this extraordinary conversation ; and it is certainly difficult to determine its precise import. It appears to me that the first part alluded solely to the divorce, and that the second proposition hinted at the murder, though darkly, yet in terms which could scarcely have been misunderstood by any who were present.² It is certain that the queen commanded Moray, Bothwell, and their associates, to abandon all thoughts of any such design ; but it had been glanced at ; she was put upon her guard ; and, difficult or impossible as it might have been at once to dismiss these leading nobles from her councils, precautions might have been taken to defeat their abominable purpose. It is possible, however, that Mary considered her express command sufficient.

This, however, was but a feeble barrier in these cruel times. The conspiracy proceeded ; and, in the usual fashion of the age, a band or agreement for the murder of Darnley was drawn up at Craigmillar, of which instrument Bothwell kept possession. It was said to have been written by James Balfour, afterwards president of the supreme court, and then a daring and profligate follower of this nobleman : it was signed by Lethington, Huntley, Argyle, and Sir James Balfour ; it declared their resolution to cut off the king as a young fool and tyrant, who was an enemy to the

¹ Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. p. 188, from a copy. Cotton MS. British Museum, Caligula, C. i. f. 282. Protestation of the Earls of Huntley and Argyle, touching the murder of the King of Scots. There is a contemporary copy, varying in a few words, in the State-paper Office.

² Instructions and Articles, by the Lords Huntley, Argyle, &c. to John bishop of Ross, Robert lord Boyd, &c. Goodal, vol. ii. p. 359.

nobility, and had conducted himself in an intolerable manner to the queen, and stipulated that, according to feudal usage, they should all stand by each other and defend the deed as a measure of state, resolved on by the chief councillors of the realm, and necessary for the preservation of their own lives.¹

Soon after this, the Earl of Bedford arrived from England, to attend the baptism of the young prince ; and it was remarked, that although Bothwell was a Protestant, the arrangement of the ceremony was committed to him.² The Scottish queen had requested Elizabeth to be godmother to her son ; and this princess having appointed the Countess of Argyle to be her representative,³ despatched Bedford with a font of gold, which she expressed some fear that the little prince might have overgrown. “ If you find it so,” said she, “ you may observe that our good sister has only to keep it for the next, or some such merry talk.”⁴

¹ The existence of a bond for the murder of the king is proved by Ormiston’s confession, (*Pitcairn’s Criminal Trials*, pp. 511, 512,) who says he saw the bond in Bothwell’s hands, and describes its contents, affirming that it was signed by Huntley, Argyle, Lethington, and Sir James Balfour, and that Bothwell told him many more had promised their assistance. This contract was, he adds, devised by Sir James Balfour, and subscribed by them all a quarter of a year before the deed was done. Ormiston, in another part of his confession, observes, that Bothwell broke to him the purpose for the murder on the Friday before ; and when he expressed reluctance to have any concern in it, he said, “ Tuah, Ormiston, ye need not take fear of this, for the whole lords have concluded the same lang syne, in Craigmillar—all that was there with the queen.” The same bond is minutely alluded to in a contemporary life of Mary, written in French, apparently by one of her domestics, who, although biased, seems to have had good opportunities of observation. *Caligula*, book iv. folio 104, dorso. See also, *Answer of Lord Herries, at York, to Moray’s “Eik,” or Additional Accusation*. Goodal, Appendix, vol. ii. p. 212.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Sir John Forster to Cecil, Berwick, 11th December 1566.

³ MS. State-paper Office, ult. October, 1566, Minute in Cecil’s hand, from the Queen’s majesty to the Countess of Argyle.

⁴ Instructions to Bedford, November 7, 1566, *Caligula*, book x. 384, a copy.

On the 17th of December, the baptism of the young prince took place with much magnificence at Stirling. The ceremony was performed according to the Roman ritual, by the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the royal infant received the names of Charles James.¹

Mary upon this occasion exerted herself to throw off the melancholy by which she was oppressed, and received the foreign ambassadors and her noble guests with those winning and delightful manners, of which even her enemies felt the fascination ; but the secret grief that preyed upon her could not be concealed.

"The queen," said De Croc, writing to Beaton the Scottish ambassador at the French court, " behaved herself admirably well all the time of the baptism, and showed so much earnestness to entertain all the goodly company in the best manner, that this made her forget in a good measure her former ailments. But I am of the mind that she will give us some trouble as yet ; nor can I be brought to think otherwise so long as she continues so pensive and melancholy. She sent for me yesterday, and I found her laid on a bed weeping sore, and she complained of a grievous pain in her side."²

From the baptism of his son the king absented himself, although he was then living in the palace. The causes of this strange conduct were no doubt to be found in his sullen and jealous temper ; the coldness between him and the queen, and the ill-disguised hostility with which he was regarded by Bothwell, Moray, and the ruling party at court, who were now busy labouring for the recall of Morton, so recently Darnley's

¹ Letter from De Croc to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Stirling, 23d December, 1566. Keith, p. vii. of his prefatory matter.

² Keith, Preface, p. vii. De Croc to Beaton ; from the original in the Scots College, Paris.

associate in the murder of Riccio, but now his most bitter enemy. De Croc the French ambassador, in his letter to Bishop Beaton, describing the baptism, observed that the king's conduct at this time was so incurable, that no good could be expected of him. It is of importance to mark his expressions. "The king," said he, "had still given out that he would depart two days before the baptism; but when the time came on he made no sign of removing at all, only he still kept close within his own apartment. The very day of the baptism he sent three several times, desiring me either to come and see him, or to appoint him an hour that he might come to me in my lodgings: so that I found myself obliged at last to signify to him, that seeing he was in no good correspondence with the queen, I had it in charge from the most christian king, to have no conference with him. And I caused tell him likewise, that as it would not be very proper for him to come to my lodgings, because there was such a crowd of company there, so he might know that there were two passages to it; and if he should enter by the one, I should be constrained to go out by the other. His bad deportment is incurable, nor can there be any good expected from him for several reasons, which I might tell you, was I present with you. I can't pretend to foretell how all may turn, but I will say that matters cannot subsist long as they are, without being accompanied with sundry bad consequences."¹

It had long been evident that Mary's enmity to the Earl of Morton and his associates, who had been banished for the murder of Riccio, was much softened; and soon after the baptism she consented to pardon them, at the earnest entreaty of Moray, Bothwell, and

¹ De Croc to Beaton, Stirling, December 23, 1566, quoted by Keith in his prefatory matter, p. vii.

their associates.¹ She excepted, indeed, from this act of mercy, two marked delinquents, George Douglas, who had stabbed Riccio over her shoulder, and Andrew Car of Faudonside, who had presented a pistol to her breast; but Morton, Lindsay, Ruthven, and seventy-six other persons were pardoned; and so highly did the king resent and dread their return, that he abruptly left the court and took up his residence with his father Lennox, at Glasgow. Soon after this he was seized with a disease which threw out pustules over his body, and a report arose that he had been poisoned. The rumour cannot excite wonder when we recollect the bond for the murder of the unhappy prince, which had been entered into at Craigmillar, and which its authors, who occupied the chief places about the queen, only awaited a safe opportunity to execute. But in the present case rumour spoke false, for the disease proved to be the small pox, and the queen immediately despatched her own physician to attend him.² It was impossible, however, that he should receive much sympathy either from Mary or her ministers. His actions lately had been marked by continued perversity and weakness. Whilst the queen had been exerting herself for some months to reconcile her nobles, to secure the amity of England, and, by a judicious extension of mercy to Morton and his friends, to restore tranquillity and peace to the country, Darnley appears to have been occupied with perpetual intrigues and plots. Not contented with his secret correspondence with Rome, and the Roman Catholics in England, he was reported to entertain a project for crowning the young prince and seizing the government; and he exhibited, with

¹ Bedford to Cecil, original, State-paper Office, December 30, 1566.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Bedford to Cecil, January 9, 1566, *i. e.* c. 1566-7.

his father Lennox, a fixed resolution to thwart all the measures of the queen, and give her perpetual vexation and alarm.¹ In all these enterprises there was so much inconsistency and jealousy—so evident an inability to carry any plot into successful execution, and yet such a perverse desire to create mischief—that the queen, in addressing her ambassador in France at this moment, expressed herself towards him with much severity. “As for the king our husband,” said she, “God knows always our part towards him; and his behaviour and thankfulness to us is equally well known to God and the world, especially our own indifferent subjects see it, and in their hearts we doubt not condemn the same. Always we perceive him occupied, and busy enough to have inquisition of our doings; which, God willing, shall always be such as none shall have occasion to be offended with them, or to report of us any ways but honourably, however he, his father, and their fautors speak, which we know want no good will to make us have ado, if their power were equivalent to their minds. But God moderates their forces well enough, and takes the means of the execution of their pretences from them: for, as we believe, they shall find none or very few approvers of their counsels and devices imagined to our displeasure and misliking.”²

When this letter was written, the king, as we have seen, lay at Glasgow;³ and, much about the same time,

¹ Examination of William Rogers, original, State-paper Office, 16th January, 1566-7. Keith, p. 348, quoting Knox in note 6. Also Mary's letter to Beaton, January 20, 1566-7, in Keith's prefatory matter, p. viii.

² Mary to Bishop Beaton, 20th January, *et supra*, Keith, p. viii. Preface.

³ Bedford to Cecil, Berwick, original, State-paper Office, 9th Jan. 1566-7. “The estate of all things there [Scotland] is as it was wont to be, and the agreement between the queen and her husband nothing

an incident occurred at Berwick, which appears to me to connect itself with the conspiracy to which he soon after fell a victim. In Mary's service there were two Italians, Joseph Riccio and Joseph Lutyni. Joseph Riccio was brother to the unhappy secretary David. He had arrived in Scotland soon after his brother's murder, and had been promoted by Mary to the office which it left vacant.¹ All that we know regarding him is, that the queen treated him with favour; and Lennox, after the assassination of his son the king, publicly named him as one of the murderers. Of Lutyni we know nothing, except that he was a gentleman in the queen's household, and an intimate friend of Joseph Riccio. This Lutyni, Mary now sent on a mission to France, (6th January, 1566-7;) but he had only reached Berwick, when she despatched urgent letters, directing that he should be instantly apprehended, and brought back to Scotland, as he was a thief, and had absconded with money.² Sir William Drury marshal of Berwick, to whom these letters were addressed, on examining him, appears to have found upon his person, or some way to have got possession of, a letter written to him by his friend Joseph Riccio; and its contents convinced Drury that the Scottish queen dreaded the disclosure of some important secret of which Lutyni had possessed himself. Alluding to Mary's letter, and the discrepancy between the slight

amended, as you shall hear further when I come. The king is now at Glasgow with his father, and there lyeth full of the small pocks, to whom the queen hath sent her physician."

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, April 25, 1566.

² Lutyni's passport is dated 6th January, 1566-7, contemporary copy from original, State-paper Office, sent by Drury to Cecil, referred to in a MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. dated January 23, 1566, i. e. 1566-7. He was ordered to be arrested by a letter from Mary, dated January 17, 1566-7. Transcript from original, State-paper Office, and copy of passport.

reasons assigned for his apprehension and her great anxiety to have him again in her hands, Drury observed to Cecil, “ And therefore giveth me to think, by that I can gather as well of the matter as of the gentleman, that it is not it [the money] that the queen seeketh so much, as to recover his person ; for I have learned the man had credit there, and now the queen mistrusteth lest he should offer his service here in England, and thereby might, with better occasion, utter something either prejudicial to her, or that she would be loath should be disclosed but to those she pleaseth.”¹

Riccio’s letter was certainly fitted to rouse these suspicions. He told Lutyni, that they were both vehemently blamed, that they were accused of acting a double part, and that Lutyni in particular was railed at as having been prying into the queen’s private papers ; and he implored him, when examined on his return, as he valued his own safety and his friend’s life, to adhere to a certain story, which he (Riccio) had already told the queen. On interrogating Lutyni, Drury found him in the greatest alarm, affirming, that if he were sent back to Scotland, it would be to “ a prepared death.”² Upon this he consulted Cecil, and received orders not to deliver him up, but to detain him at Berwick. The whole circumstances are exceedingly obscure : but it appears to me certain, from Riccio’s letter, that Lutyni had become acquainted through him with some secret, the betrayal of which was a matter of life or death ; that Mary suspected that he had stolen or read some of her private papers ; that she had determined to examine him herself upon this point ; and that every thing depended on his

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, Berwick, 23d January, 1566-7.

² Ibid. Feb. 7, 1566-7.

deceiving the queen on his return, by adhering to the tale which had been already told her. In what other way are we to understand these expressions of Riccio to Lutyni? “* * Se voi dite cosi come vi mando sarete scusato, e io ancora. La Regina vi manda ci pigliare per parlar con voi, pigliate guardia a voi che voi la cognoscete pigliate guardia che non v’abuzzi delle sue parole come voi sapete bene; e m’ha detto che vuol parlare a voi in secreto e pigliate guardia delli dire come vi ho scritto, e non altramente, a fin che nostra parola si confronti l’una a l’altra, e ne voi ne io non saremo in pena nessuna, * * e vi prego di aver pieta di me, e non voler esser causa della mia morte.”¹ When it is considered that at this moment Bothwell, Lethington, and their accomplices, had resolved on the king’s death; when we recollect the conference at Craigmillar, in which they had hinted their intentions to the queen, and had been commanded by her to do nothing that would touch her honour; when we know that Bothwell, who was at this time in the highest favour with Mary, was the custodier also of the written bond for the murder of Darnley, there appears to me to be a presumption that Joseph Riccio, who must have hated the king as the principal assassin of his brother, had joined the plot; that his terrors arose out of his having revealed to Lutyni the conspiracy for Darnley’s murder, and that the queen, suspecting it had resolved to secure his person. This, however, is only presumption, and the letter might relate to some other state secret. But we shall again meet with Lutyni and Riccio; and meanwhile I proceed to those dreadful scenes which so soon followed

¹ See the whole letter in *Proofs and Illustrations*, No. XVII. It is in the State-paper Office. Endorsed in Cecil’s own hand, “Joseph Riccio, Queen of Scots’ servant.”

the baptism of the prince and the pardon of the Earl of Morton.

When this nobleman returned, in the beginning of January 1566-7, from his banishment in England, Darnley still lay in a weakly state of health at Glasgow. On his road to Edinburgh, Morton took up his residence at Whittingham, the seat of Archibald Douglas, his near relative, and soon after was joined there by the Earl of Bothwell and Secretary Lethington.¹ The object of this visit was immediately explained by Bothwell, who, in the presence of Archibald Douglas, acquainted Morton with their determination to murder the king; and added, as an inducement for him to join the plot, that the queen had consented to his death. The atrocious proposal was declined by Morton, not influenced by any feelings of horror, which, from his character, he was not likely to give way to, but on other grounds. He was unwilling, he said, to meddle with new troubles, when he had scarcely got rid of an old offence.² Archibald Douglas then earnestly exhorted him to join the plot; and Bothwell, in a second interview, to which Lethington was admitted, reiterated his arguments, and insisted that all was done at the queen's desire. "Bring me then," said Morton, "the queen's hand-writ for a warrant, and you shall have my answer." Upon this Douglas accompanied Lethington and Bothwell to Edinburgh, and soon after he received an order from Lethington to return to Whittingham, and tell Morton that the queen would receive no speech of the matter appointed

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Morton to Cecil, from Berwick, 10th Jan. 1566-7. MS. letter, B.C. Drury to Cecil, Jan. 23, 1566-7. Morton arrived at Whittingham some time between the 9th and 23d of January.

² Morton's Confession in Bannatyne's Memorials, p. 317. Bannatyne edition.

unto him.¹ Douglas complaining of the brevity and obscurity of this message, Lethington replied, that Morton would have no difficulty in comprehending it; and it appears to me certain, that it related to the same subject already talked of between them,— the king's murder, and the written warrant which Morton had required from the queen.

These secret interviews and conversations took place at Whittingham and Edinburgh in the latter part of the month of January; and on the 22d of the same month, Mary set out on a visit to the king at Glasgow. Darnley was now partially recovered from his late sickness, but he had received some private intelligence of the plots against him. He was aware of the return of Morton, who regarded him as the cause of all his late sufferings; he knew, that amongst his mortal enemies, who had never forgiven him his desertion of them in the conspiracy against Riccio, were some of the highest nobility who now enjoyed the confidence of the queen. He had recently heard from one of his servants, that Mary had spoken of him with much severity;² and her visit, therefore, took him by surprise. Under this feeling the king sent Crawford, one of his gentlemen, to meet the queen, with a message, excusing himself for not waiting upon her in person.³ He was still infirm, he said, and did not presume to come to her until he knew her wishes, and was assured of the removal of her displeasure. To this, Mary briefly replied, that there was no medi-

¹ Morton's Confession before his death; printed in Bannatyne's Memorials, p. 318. Archibald Douglas's letter to Queen Mary, April, 1568; printed from the Harleian, by Robertson, Appendix, No. xlviij.

² Thomas Crawford's deposition. MS. State-paper Office, endorsed by Cecil, but without date.

³ Anderson, vol. iv. pp. 168, 169, and MS. State-paper Office, Thomas Crawford's deposition.

cine against fear ; and, passing forward to Glasgow, came into Darnley's bed-chamber, when, after greeting and some indifferent talk, the subjects which had estranged them from each other were introduced. Darnley professed a deep repentance for his errors, pleaded his youth, and the few friends he now had, and declared to her his unalterable affection. Mary reminded him of his complaints and suspicions, spoke against his foolish plan of leaving the kingdom, and recalled to his mind the "purpose of Hiegate," a name given to a plot which Darnley affirmed he had discovered, and of which he was himself to be the victim. The queen demanded who was his informer. He replied, the Laird of Minto, who had told him that a letter was presented to her in Craigmillar, made by her own device, and subscribed by certain others, who desired her to sign it, which she refused.¹ Darnley then added, that he would never think that she, who was his own proper flesh, would do him any hurt ; and if any others should do it, they should buy it dear, unless they took him sleeping. He observed, however, that he suspected none ; and only entreated her to bear him company, and not, as she was wont, to withdraw herself from him. Mary then told him, that as he was still little able to travel, she had brought a litter with her to carry him to Craigmillar; and he declared his readiness to accompany her, if she would consent that they should again live together at bed and board. She promised it should be as he had spoken, and gave him her hand ; but added, that before this, he must be thoroughly cleansed of his sickness, which she trusted he shortly would be, as she intended to give him the bath at Craigmillar. The queen also re-

¹ Crawford's deposition, *ut supra*.

quested him to conceal the promises which had now passed between them, as the suddenness of their agreement might give umbrage to some of the lords; to which he replied, that he could see no reason why they should mislike it.

When Mary left him, Darnley called Crawford to him, and informing him fully of all that had passed at the interview, bade him communicate it to his father the Earl of Lennox. He then asked him what he thought of the queen's taking him to Craigmillar? "She treats your majesty," said Crawford, "too like a prisoner. Why should you not be taken to one of your own houses in Edinburgh?"—"It struck me much the same way," answered Darnley; "and I have fears enough: but may God judge between us, I have her promise only to trust to; but I have put myself in her hands, and I shall go with her, though she should murder me."¹ It is from Crawford's evidence, taken on oath, which was afterwards produced, and still exists, endorsed by Cecil, that we learn these minute particulars; nor have I been able to discover any sufficient ground to doubt its truth.²

Soon after this interview, the queen carried her husband, by slow journeys, from Glasgow to Edinburgh, where she arrived on the last day of January.³ It had been at first intended, as we have seen, that

¹ MS. State-paper Office. Thomas Crawford's deposition. "Crawford, a gentleman of the Earl of Lennox, was examined on oath before the commissioners at York, December 9, 1568, and then produced a paper which he had written immediately after the conversations between himself and the king and queen: wherein he did write what had taken place as nearly word for word as his memory would serve him." Anderson, vol. iv. p. 169. This paper is the deposition, endorsed by Cecil, from which I have taken the narrative in the text.

² Cecil's Diary. Anderson, vol. ii. p. 271.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, January 26, 1566-7. Cecil's Diary. Anderson, vol. ii. p. 272.

Darnley should have taken up his residence at Craigmillar; but this purpose was changed; and as the palace of Holyrood was judged, from its low situation, to be unhealthy, and little fitted for an invalid, the king was brought to a suburb called the Kirk of Field, a more remote and airy site, occupied by the town residence of the Duke of Chastelherault, and other buildings and gardens. On their arrival here, the royal attendants were about to proceed to the duke's lodging, as it was called; but on alighting, Mary informed them, that the king's apartments were to be in an adjoining house, which stood beside the town wall, not far from a ruinous Dominican monastery, called the Black Friars.¹ To this place she led Darnley; and even if we make every allowance for the rudeness of the domestic accommodations of these times, it appears to have been an insecure and confined mansion.² Its proprietor was Robert Balfour, a brother of that Sir James Balfour, whom we have already known as the deviser of the bond for the murder which was drawn up at Craigmillar, and then a dependant of Bothwell's. This earl, whose influence was now nearly supreme at court, had recently returned from Liddesdale; and when he understood that Mary and the king were on their road from Glasgow, he met them with his attendants a short way from the capital, and accompanied the party to the Kirk of Field.³

At this moment the reconciliation between the queen and her husband seemed to be complete. She assiduously superintended every little detail which could add to his comfort. She treated him not only

¹ Evidence of Thomas Nelson. Anderson, vol. iv. p. 165.

² See a minute description of it in the deposition of Nelson, printed in Anderson, vol. iv. p. 165.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Scrope to Cecil, Carlisle, January 28, 1566-7.

with attention but tenderness, passed much of the day in his society, and had a chamber prepared for herself immediately below his, where she slept.¹ The king was partially reassured by these marks of affection. He knew that plots had been entertained against his life, and, as we have seen, suspected many of the nobles to be his enemies. Yet he trusted to the promises of the queen, and no doubt believed, that if she remained beside him, they would find it impossible to accomplish their cruel purpose. But when he indulged these hopes, the miserable prince was on the very brink of destruction.

Since their recent meeting at Whittingham, Bothwell, Morton, Lethington, and Sir James Balfour, had fully determined on the murder. The Earls of Huntley, Argyle, and Caithness, Archibald Douglas, with the Archbishop of St Andrews, and many others of the leading lords and legal officers in the country, had joined the conspiracy; and some, who did not choose directly to share in the plot, deemed it dangerous or impolitic to reveal it. Of this neutral sort the greatest was Moray, whom, from the evidence that yet remains, it is impossible to believe ignorant of the resolutions of his friends, but whose superior sagacity enabled him to avoid any direct connexion with the atrocious design which they now hurried on to its accomplishment.

On Sunday the 9th of February, Bastian, a foreigner belonging to the household of the queen, was to be married at Holyrood. The bride was one of her favourite women, and Mary, to honour their union, had promised them a masque. The greatest part of that day she passed with the king. They appeared to be on the most affectionate terms, and she declared

¹ Nelson's evidence. Anderson, vol. iv. p. 166.

her intention of remaining all night at the Kirk of Field. It was at this moment, when Darnley and the queen were engaged in conversation, that Hay of Tallo, Hepburn of Bolton, and other ruffians whom Bothwell had hired for the purpose, secretly entered the chamber which was under the king's, and deposited on the floor a large quantity of gunpowder in bags. They then laid a train, which was connected with a "lunt" or slow match, and placed every thing in readiness for its being lighted. Some of them now hurried away, but two of the conspirators remained on the watch ; and in the meantime, Mary, who still sat with her husband in the upper chamber, recollecting her promise of giving the masque at Bastian's wedding, and taking farewell of Darnley, embraced him, and left the house with her suite.¹

Soon after, the king retired to his bed-chamber. Since his illness there appeared to have been a great change in him. He had become more thoughtful, and thought had brought with it repentance of his former courses. He lamented there were few near him whom he could trust, and at times he would say, that he knew he should be slain, complaining that he was hardly dealt with ; but from these sorrows he had sought refuge in religion, and it was remarked, that on this night, his last in this world, he had repeated the 55th Psalm, which he would often read and sing.² After his devotion, he went to bed and fell asleep, Taylor, his page, being beside him in the same apartment. This was the moment seized by the murderers, who still lurked in the lower room, to complete their dreadful purpose ; but their miserable victim was awakened by the noise

¹ Nelson's evidence. Anderson, vol. iv. p. 167.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, about 18th April, 1567.

of their false keys in the lock of his apartment, and, rushing down in his shirt and pelisse, endeavoured to make his escape ; but he was intercepted and strangled, after a desperate resistance, his cries for mercy being heard by some women in the nearest house ; the page was also strangled ; and their bodies were carried into a small orchard, without the garden wall, where they were found, the king in his shirt only, and the pelisse by his side.¹ Amid the conflicting stories of the ruffians who were executed, it is difficult to arrive at the whole truth : but no doubt rests on the part acted by Bothwell, the arch-conspirator. He had quitted the king's apartments with the queen, and joined the festivities in the palace, from which about midnight he stole away, changed his rich dress, and rejoined the murderers who waited for him at the Kirk of Field. His arrival was the signal to complete their purpose ; the match was lighted, but burnt too slow for their breathless impatience, and they were stealing forward to examine it, when it took effect. A loud noise, like the bursting of a thunder-cloud, awoke the sleeping city ; the king's house was torn in pieces and cast into the air ; and the assassins hurrying from the spot, under cover of the darkness regained the palace. Here Bothwell had scarcely undressed and gone to bed, when the cry arose in the city, that the Kirk of Field had been blown up, and the king murdered. The news flew quickly to Holyrood, and a servant rushing into his chamber imparted the dreadful tidings. He started up in well-feigned astonishment and shouted “Treason !” He was joined next moment by Huntley, a brother conspirator ; and immediately

¹ See the Account of M. de Morett. Proofs and Illustrations, No. XVIII. MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, Feb. 12, 1566-7. Ibid. same to same, about 18th April, 1567.

these two noblemen, with others belonging to the court, entered the queen's apartments, when Mary was made acquainted with the dreadful fate of her husband.¹ She was horror-struck, shut herself up in her bed-chamber, and seemed overwhelmed with sorrow.²

The murder had been committed on Monday, about two in the morning, and when day broke, multitudes crowded to examine the Kirk of Field. Any lengthened scrutiny, however, was not permitted; for Bothwell soon repaired to the spot with a guard, and the king's body was carried to a neighbouring house, where it lay till it was produced before the privy council. In the brief interval, however, it had been noted that the bodies, both of Darnley and of his page, were unscathed by fire or powder, and that no blood wound appeared on either.³

This gave rise to innumerable contradictory reports and conjectures; but all agreed that instant inquiry promised the only hope of discovery, and men watched with intense interest the conduct of the queen and her ministers. Two days, however, elapsed before any step was taken;⁴ but on the Wednesday after the murder, a proclamation offered two thousand pounds reward to any who would come forward with information; and scarce was this made public, when a paper was fixed during the night on the door of the Tolbooth, or common prison. It denounced the Earl of Bothwell, Mr James Balfour, and David Chambers, as guilty of the king's slaughter. Voices, too, were

¹ Declaration of William Pourie. Anderson, vol. ii. p. 170.

² Examinations and Depositions of William Pourie, George Dalgleish, John Hay younger of Tallo, and John Hepburn of Bolton, concerning the murder of the king. Anderson, vol. ii. pp. 165-192, inclusive.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Feb. 11, 1566-7. Enclosure by Drury to Cecil.

⁴ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, Feb. 12, 1566-7.

heard in the streets at dead of night, arraigning the same persons ; and as the fate of the king had excited the deepest indignation in the people, Mary's friends looked with the utmost anxiety to the conduct she should pursue. To their mortification, it was anything but satisfactory. Instead of acting with that spirit, promptitude, and vigour, which she had so recently exhibited under the most trying emergencies, she betrayed a deplorable apathy and remissness. After keeping her chamber for some days, she removed to the seat of Lord Seton, at a short distance from the capital, accompanied by Bothwell, Argyle, Huntley, the Archbishop of St Andrews, and Secretary Lethington.¹ On the preceding day, Darnley had been buried in the chapel of Holyrood, but with great privacy. None of the nobility attended the ceremony ; and it was remarked that, of the officers of state, the Justice-clerk Bellenden was alone present.

Meantime, whilst the queen was at Seton, placards accusing Bothwell were openly exposed in the capital. The first of these appeared on the 17th, another repeated the denunciation on the 19th, and on the succeeding day, the Earl of Lennox, father to the murdered king, commenced a correspondence with the queen, in which he implored her to apprehend the suspected persons, and to lose no time in investigating the circumstances of his son's slaughter.² She replied, that the placards contradicted each other, and that she was at a loss on which to proceed. He returned for answer, that the names of the persons suspected were notorious to the world, and marvelled they should have

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Drury to Cecil, Berwick, February 17, 1566, i. e. 1566-7.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, 19th Feb. 1566-7, Berwick. Also ibid. same to same, Berwick, Feb. 28, 1566-7. Cabala, p. 126. Norris to Cecil. Anderson's Collections, vol. i. p. 40.

been kept from her majesty's ears ; but to prevent all mistakes, he should repeat them : the Earl Bothwell, Mr James Balfour, Mr David Chambers, and black Mr John Spens, were denounced, he said, in the first placard ; in the second, Signor Francis, Bastian, John de Bordeaux, and Joseph, David's brother ; and he finally besought the queen, in the most earnest and touching terms, to take order for their immediate apprehension. But he besought her in vain.¹ At the moment he was writing, Bothwell continued in high favour, and enjoyed the most familiar intercourse with Mary. Although the reports of his guilt as the principal assassin became daily stronger ; nay, as if to convince Lennox that all remonstrances would be inefficacious, Sir James Balfour, the very man who was named as his fellow-murderer, was suffered to be at large.

It was at this time that Lutyni the Italian, Joseph Riccio's companion, was sent back by Drury to the Queen of Scots.² Riccio himself, as we have just seen, had been accused as one of the murderers of the king ; but that Lutyni's secret, of which Riccio so much dreaded the discovery, related to the plot, can only be conjectured. On his arrival, the queen did not see him, (it was scarce a week after Darnley's death,) but directed that he should be examined by Bothwell. This baron was apparently satisfied with the reasons which he gave for his flight, and after a courteous interview, permitted him to return to Berwick. The queen, at the same time, sent him a present of thirty crowns ; and he soon after left the country, expressing the utmost satisfaction at his escape.³

¹ Anderson, vol. i. pp. 40, 44, 47, 48. Also enclosure in MS. letter, B.C. State-paper Office. Forster to Cecil, 28th February, 1566-7.

² *Supra*, pp. 374-376.

³ Whether guilty or no, Lutyni had been so well tutored by his

Had the queen entertained any serious idea of discovering the perpetrators of the murder, the steps to be pursued were neither dubious nor intricate. If she was afraid to seize the higher delinquents, it was, at least, no difficult matter to have apprehended and examined the persons who had provided the lodging in which the king was slain. The owner of the house, Robert Balfour, was well known; her own servants, who had been intrusted with the keys, and the king's domestics, who had absented themselves before the explosion, or were preserved from its effects, were still on the spot, and might have been arrested and brought before the privy council.¹ But nothing of this kind took place; and in this interval of delay and apparent indecision, many persons from whom information might have been elicited, and some who were actually accused, took the opportunity of leaving the country. On the 19th of February, only nine days after the explosion, Sir W. Drury addressed an interesting letter to Cecil, from Berwick, in which he mentioned that Dolu, the queen's treasurer, had arrived in that town with eight others, amongst whom was Bastian, one of those denounced in the placards. Francis, the Italian steward, the same person whose name had been also publicly posted up as engaged in the murder, was expected, he added, to pass that way within a few days, and other Frenchmen had left Scotland by sea.²

In the midst of these events, the Earl of Bothwell

friend, that no suspicion was raised. It is evident, however, that fears were felt for him, as Drury had procured a promise from Mary and Lethington, that he should be dismissed in safety; and sent a gentleman of the garrison with him, to see that it was fulfilled. MS. letter, State-paper Office, Drury to Cecil, B.C. Feb. 19, 1566-7. Same to same, B.C. Feb. 28, 1566-7.

¹ Laing, p. 52.

² State-paper Office, B.C. Berwick, Drury to Cecil, Feb. 19, 1566-7. Ibid. same date.

continued to have the chief direction of affairs, and to share with Lethington, Argyle, and Huntley, the confidence of the queen. The Earls of Moray and Morton, who were absent from the capital at the time of the murder, showed no disposition to return; and Lennox, when requested by Mary to repair to court, dismissed her messenger without an answer.¹

Meanwhile, rumour was busy, and some particulars were talked of amongst the people, which, if any real solicitude on the subject had existed, might have still given a clue to trace the assassins. A smith was spoken of in a bill fastened on the Tron,² who had furnished the false keys to the king's apartment, and who, on due security, promised to come forward and point out his employers.³ A person was said to be discovered in Edinburgh, from whom Sir James Balfour had purchased a large quantity of powder; and other placards and drawings appeared, in which the queen herself and Bothwell were plainly pointed at. But the only effect produced by such intimations, was to rouse this daring man to a passionate declaration of vengeance. Accompanied by fifty guards, he rode to the capital from Seton,⁴ and with furious oaths and gestures declared publicly, that if he knew who were the authors of the bills or drawings, he would "wash his hands in their blood."⁵ It was remarked, that as he passed through the streets his followers kept a jealous watch, and crowded round him as if they apprehended an attack, whilst he himself spoke to no one, of whom he was not assured, without his hand on the hilt of his dagger

¹ State-paper Office, B.C. Berwick, Drury to Cecil, Feb. 19, 1566-7.

² A post in the public market, where goods were weighed.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, February 28, 1566-7.

⁴ Seton Castle, Haddingtonshire.

⁵ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, Berwick, Feb. 28, 1566-7.

His deportment and fierce looks were much noted by the people, who began, at the same time, to express themselves openly and bitterly against the queen.¹ It was observed that Captain Cullen and his company were the guards nearest her person, and he was well known to be a sworn follower of Bothwell's: it was remarked, that whilst all inquiry into the murder appeared to be forgotten, an active investigation took place as to the authors of the placards;² and minuter circumstances were noted, which seemed to argue a light and indifferent behaviour, at a time when her manner should have been especially circumspect and guarded. It did not escape attention, that scarce two weeks after her husband's death, whilst in the country and in the city all were still shocked at the late occurrences, and felt them as a stain on their national character, the court at Seton was occupied in gay amusements. Mary and Bothwell would shoot at the butts against Huntley and Seton; and, on one occasion, after winning the match, they forced these lords to pay the forfeit in the shape of a dinner at Tranent.³ On the evening of the day in which the earl had exhibited so much fury in the streets of the capital, two more placards were hung up: on the one were written the initials, M. R., with a hand holding a sword; on the other Bothwell's initials, with a mallet painted above, an obscure allusion to the only wound found upon the unhappy prince, which appeared to have been given by a blunt instrument.

These symptoms of suspicion and dissatisfaction were not confined to the people. Movements began to be

¹ MS. letter, Drury to Cecil, Feb. 28, 1566-7.

² Keith, p. 374.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, Berwick, Feb. 28, 1566-7.

talked of amongst the nobles. It was reported that Moray and some friends had held a meeting at Dunkeld, where they were joined by Caithness, Athole, and Morton;¹ and as this nobleman had absented himself from court, and kept aloof amongst his dependants, the queen became at length convinced that something must be done to prevent a coalition against her, and to satisfy the people that she was determined to institute a public inquiry into the murder.

To this, indeed, she had been urged in the most solemn and earnest terms by Bishop Beaton, her ambassador at Paris. The day after Darnley's death, she had written to this prelate, giving a brief description of the late dreadful events, and lamenting that his affectionate warning, to beware of some sudden danger, had arrived too late. In his answer he had implored her to lose no time in prosecuting its authors, and vindicating herself in the eyes of the world. He had even gone so far as to repeat the common opinion then current in France, that she was herself the principal cause of the king's death, and that nothing had been done without her consent. His expressions upon this point were very remarkable. "Of this deed, if I should write all that is spoken here, and also in England, of the miserable estate of [the] realm by the dishonour of the nobility, mistrust and treason of your whole subjects, yea, that yourself is greatly and wrongously calumniated to be the motive principal of the whole, and all done by your command, I can conclude nothing besides that which your majesty writes to me yourself, that since it hath pleased God to preserve you to take a rigorous vengeance thereof, that rather than it be not actually taken, it appears to me better, in this world,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, Berwick, Feb. 28, 1566-7.

that you had lost life and all. * * * Here it is needful that you show forth now, rather than ever before, the great virtue, magnanimity, and constancy, which God has granted you; by whose grace I hope you shall overcome this most heavy envy and displeasure of the committing thereof, and preserve that reputation in all godliness which you have acquired long since; which can appear no ways more clearly than that you do such justice as the whole world may declare your innocence, and give testimony for ever of their treason that have committed, without fear of God or man, so cruel and ungodly a murder.”¹

This honest letter was written on the 8th of March, about a month after the king’s murder; and on the same day Mary received a message of condolence and advice from Elizabeth. It was brought by Sir Henry Killigrew, who, on his arrival, after dining with Bothwell, Morton, Lethington, and Argyle, (all of them, as was afterwards proved, participated in this cruel deed,) was admitted to the queen. To see her face was impossible, for the chamber was dark, but, by her voice and manner, she seemed in profound grief; and not only assured the envoy of her desire to satisfy the Queen of England’s wishes regarding the treaty of Leith and the matters of the borders, but promised him that the Earl of Bothwell should be brought to a public trial.²

During his stay in the capital, which lasted but a few days, Killigrew found the people clamorous for inquiry into the assassination, which they regarded as a shame to the whole nation; whilst the preachers

¹ Keith, Preface, p. ix. Extract from the original in the Scots College, Paris.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Killigrew to Cecil, 8th March, 1566-7. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. 30th March, 1567, Drury to Cecil, Berwick.

solemnly exhorted all men to prayer and repentance, and in their pulpits appealed to God, that he would be pleased "to reveal and revenge."¹ Scarce, however, had this envoy departed, when the queen seemed to have forgotten her good resolutions; and, infatuated in her predilection for Bothwell, admitted him to greater power and favour than ever. The Earl of Mar was induced to give up the castle of Edinburgh, and it was given to Bothwell. Morton, after a secret and midnight interview with his royal mistress, received the castle of Tantallon and other lands which he had forfeited by his rebellion; and it was remarked that, in return for this, his whole power and interest were assured to Bothwell. The castle of Blackness, the Inch, and the superiority of Leith, were conferred on the same favourite; and so completely did he rule every thing at court, that Moray, although he judged it prudent to keep on friendly terms, became disgusted with the inferior part he now acted, and requested permission to leave the kingdom.²

In the midst of these transactions, it was observed that the queen was wretched. She attended a solemn dirge for the soul of her husband; and they who were near her on this occasion, remarked a melancholy change from her former health and beauty. Nor were these feelings likely to be soothed by the letters which she now received from France, in which the queen-mother, and the cardinal her uncle, addressed her with bitter reproaches, and declared, that if she failed to avenge the death of the king their cousin, and to clear

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Killigrew to Cecil, *ut supra*.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Drury to Cecil, B.C. 17th March, 1566-7. Same to same, B.C. 14th March, 1566-7. Same to same, B.C. 21st March, 1567. Same to same, B.C. 29th and 30th March, 1567. See also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, 4th April, 1567.

herself from the imputations brought against her, they would not only consider her as utterly disgraced, but become her enemies.¹

Urged by these repeated appeals, she at last resolved that Bothwell should be brought to a public trial; but the circumstances which attended this tardy exhibition of justice were little calculated to justify her in the opinion of her people. He had now become so powerful by the favour of the crown, and the many offices conferred upon him, that it was evident, as long as he remained at large and ruled every thing at court, no person dared be so hardy as accuse him. His trial, accordingly, was little else than a mock ceremonial, directed by himself, and completely overruled by his creatures. The Earl of Lennox, who at an earlier period had in vain implored the queen to investigate the murder, and to collect, whilst it was attainable, such evidence as might bring the guilt home to its authors, now as earnestly and justly pleaded the necessity of delay. He had been summoned to appear and make good his accusation against Bothwell; but he declared that it was in vain to expect him to come singly, opposed to a powerful adversary, who enjoyed the royal favour, and commanded the town and the castle. He conjured the queen to grant him some time, that he might assemble his friends: he observed, that when the suspected persons were still at liberty, powerful at court, and about her majesty's person, no fair trial could take place; and when all was in vain, he applied to Elizabeth, who wrote to Mary in the strongest terms, and besought her, as she hoped to save herself from the worst suspicions, to listen to so just a request. It was forcibly urged by the English

¹ Drury's letter to Cecil, MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. 29th March, 1567.

queen, that Lennox was well assured of a combination to acquit Bothwell, and to accomplish by force what could never be attained by law ; and she advised her, in the management of a cause which touched her so nearly, to use that sincerity and prudence which might convince the whole world that she was guiltless.¹

It is not certain that the Scottish queen received this letter in time to stay the proceedings, for it was written only four days previous to the trial ; and the provost-marshal of Berwick, to whom its delivery was intrusted, arrived at the capital early in the morning of the 12th of April, the very day on which the trial took place. The state in which he found the city soon convinced him that his message would be fruitless. When he entered the palace, the friends of the Earl of Bothwell were assembled. They and their followers mustered four thousand men, besides a guard of two hundred hagbutters. This formidable force kept possession of the streets, and filled the outer court of the palace ; and as the castle was at his devotion, it was evident that Bothwell completely commanded the town.

It was scarcely to be expected that a messenger whose errand was suspected to be a request for delay should be welcome ; and although he announced himself to be bearer of a letter from Elizabeth, he was rudely treated, reproached as an English villain, who had come to stay the “assize,”² and assured that the queen was too busy with the matters of the day to attend to other business. At that moment Bothwell himself, with the Secretary Lethington, came out of

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, April 4, 1567.

² The trial by a jury.—MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. 15th April, 1567, Berwick, Drury to Cecil. See Proofs and Illustrations, No. XIX.

the palace, and the provost-marshall delivered the Queen of England's letters to the secretary, who, accompanied by Bothwell, carried them to Mary. No answer, however, was brought back; and after a short interval, the earl and the secretary again came out, and mounted their horses, when he eagerly pressed forward for his answer. Lethington then assured him that his royal mistress was asleep, and could not receive the letter; but the excuse was hardly uttered, before it was proved to be false; for at this moment a servant of De Croc, the French ambassador, who stood beside the English envoy, looking up, saw and pointed out the queen and Mary Fleming, wife of the secretary, standing at a window of the palace; nor did it escape their notice that, as Bothwell rode past, Mary gave him a friendly greeting for a farewell. The cavalcade then left the court, and proceeded to the Tolbooth, where the trial was to take place, Bothwell's hagbutters surrounding the door, and permitting none to enter who were suspected of being unfavourable to the accused.¹

From the previous preparations, the result of such a trial might have been anticipated with certainty. The whole proceedings had already been arranged in a council, held some little time before, in which Bothwell had taken his seat, and given directions regarding his own arraignment.² The jury consisted principally, if not wholly, of the favourers of the earl; the law officers of the crown were either in his interest, or overawed into silence; no witnesses were summoned; the indictment was framed with a flaw too manifest to

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Drury to Cecil, B.C. Berwick, April 15, 1567. Also a fragment, MS. letter, State-paper Office, undated, Drury to Cecil, April, 1567.

² Anderson's Collections, vol. i. p. 50.

be accidental; and his accuser the Earl of Lennox, who was on his road to the city, surrounded by a large force of his friends, had received an order not to enter the town with more than six in his company.¹ All this showed too manifestly what was intended; and Lennox, as might have been anticipated, declined to come forward in person. When summoned to make good his accusation, a gentleman named Cunningham appeared, and stated, that he had been sent by the earl his master to reiterate the charge of murder, but to request delay, as his friends, who had intended to have accompanied him, both for his honour and security, had changed their resolution.² On this being refused to Lennox's envoy, he publicly protested against the validity of any sentence of acquittal, and withdrew. The jury were then chosen: the earl pleaded not guilty; and, in the absence of all evidence, a unanimous verdict of acquittal was pronounced. Bothwell then, by a public cartel, challenged any gentleman who should still brand him with the murder. On hearing of this defiance, Sir William Drury requested Cecil to intercede with Elizabeth that he might be permitted to accept it, professing himself absolutely convinced of the earl's guilt; and next day a paper was set up, declaring, that if a day were fixed, a gentleman should appear; but as no name was given the matter dropped.³

It was evident to all the world that this famous trial was collusive; nor could it well be otherwise. Argyle,

¹ Anderson, vol. ii. p. 98. MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Forster to Cecil, 15th April, 1567. MS. letter, State-paper Office, Drury to Cecil, 15th April, 1567.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Sir John Forster to Cecil, April 15, 1567, Alnwick. Anderson's Collections, vol. ii. p. 107.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, a fragment, Drury to Cecil, April, 1567. Anderson's Collections, vol. ii. p. 158.

Morton, Huntley, and Lethington, were all more or less participant in the king's murder, they were the sworn and leagued friends of Bothwell, and they conducted the whole proceedings. It has been argued by Mary's advocates, that she was a passive instrument in the hands of this faction, and could not, even if willing, have insisted on a fair trial. But, however anxious to lean to every presumption in favour of innocence, I have discovered no proofs of this servitude; and such imbecility appears to me inconsistent with the vigour, decision, and courage, which were striking features in her character.

The acquittal, although countenanced by the nobles, was loudly reprobated by the common people; and as rumours began to rise of a divorce between Bothwell and his countess, a sister of Huntley, their indignation and disgust were strongly expressed. Even in the public streets, and in the queen's presence, these feelings betrayed themselves; and the market women, as Mary passed, would cry out, "God preserve your grace, if you are saikless¹ of the king's death." It was noted, too, that this daring man had insulted the general feeling by riding to his trial on Darnley's favourite horse; it was reported to Drury that the queen had sent him a token and message during the proceedings;² and every thing must have united to show Mary that her late conduct was viewed with the utmost sorrow and indignation. Yet, instead of opening her eyes to the perils of her situation, she seems to have resigned herself to the influence of one strong and engrossing passion; and her history at this moment hurried for-

¹ Saikless; innocent.

² Drury to Cecil, M.S. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. 10th April, 1567, and April 19, 1567. Also, April, 1567. No date of the day is given, but the month is certain.

ward with something so like an irresistible fatality, as to make it currently reported amongst the people, that Bothwell was dealing in love philtres, and had employed the sorceries of his old paramour, the Lady Buccleuch.

Immediately after the trial parliament assembled ; and the queen, irritated perhaps at the open censures of the city, declined the ancient custom of being guarded by the magistrates and trained bands, preferring a company of hagbutters. The acquittal of Bothwell was then confirmed by the three estates ; the conduct of the jury was approved of ; the estates of Huntley and his friends restored ; a rigid inquiry instituted against the authors of all bills in which Bothwell had been accused ; and, as if to complete his triumph, Mary now selected him to bear the crown and sceptre before her when she rode to parliament.¹ It is worthy of remark, also, that in this same parliament the Roman Catholic partialities of the queen seemed to be modified ; and it is by no means improbable, that, owing to the influence of Bothwell, who was a Protestant, the reformed party were treated with greater favour than before. Mary willingly agreed to abolish all laws affecting the lives of her subjects on the score of their religion ; she passed an act securing a provision to the poorer ministers ; and it is likely more would have been granted, if their Assembly had refrained from recommending a rigid inquiry into the king's murder, which she resented and declined.²

So completely did she espouse the cause of her profligate favourite, that although all already dreaded his power, he now received from her the lordship and castle

¹ Keith, p. 378.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Sir W. Kirkaldy to Bedford, 20th April, 1567. Ibid. MS. letter, same to same, 8th May, 1567.

of Dunbar, with an enlargement of his office of high admiral; and it was evident that, by the favour of the crown, and his "bands" with the greater nobles, he had shot up to a strength which none would dare to resist.¹ Moray, from his power and popularity, was the only man who could have opposed him, but he now shunned the contest. We have already seen, that he had abstained from implicating himself in the bond for the king's murder: the very day that preceded it he had left the capital. Since that time he seldom attended the meetings of the council; and shortly previous to the trial, with the queen's permission, he retired to France.² The friends, indeed, with whom he had long and intimately acted, Morton, Argyle, Huntley, Lethington, and their associates, were all of them conspirators in the king's death,³ and they now appeared firm adherents of Bothwell; but, in the meantime, it is certain that for some time all open intercourse between them and Moray was suspended.

After his departure, the events of every day exhibited some new proofs of the infatuated predilection of the queen. Happy had it been for this unfortunate princess, had she listened for a moment to the calm and earnest advice of her ambassador at the court of France, when he implored her to punish her husband's murderers, and warned her, in such solemn terms, that the eyes of Europe were fixed upon her conduct; but his letter appears to have made little impression: the collusive trial of Bothwell gave a shock to her best friends, and the extraordinary events which now rapidly succeeded, confirmed the worst suspicions of her enemies.

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, April 19, 1567; also, same to same, April 27, 1567.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, April 9 and 10, 1567.

This was afterwards clearly established.

On the evening of the day on which the parliament rose, (April 19th,) Bothwell invited the principal nobility to supper, in a tavern kept by a person named Ansley. They sat drinking till a late hour ; and during the entertainment a band of two hundred hagbutters surrounded the house and overawed its inmates.¹ The earl then rose, and proposed his marriage with the queen, affirming that he had gained her consent, and even (it is said) producing her written warrant empowering him to propose the matter to her nobility. Of the guests some were his sworn friends, others were terrified and irresolute ; and in the confusion one nobleman, the Earl of Eglinton, contrived to make his escape ; but the rest, both Papist and Protestant, were overawed into compliance, and affixed their signatures to a bond, in which they declared their conviction of Bothwell's innocence, and recommended "this noble and mighty lord" as a suitable husband for the queen, whose continuance in solitary widowhood they declared was injurious to the interests of the commonwealth. The most influential persons who signed this disgraceful instrument were the Earls of Morton, Argyle, Huntley, Cassillis, Sutherland, Glencairn, Rothes, and Caithness ; and of the lords, Herries, Hume, Boyd, Seton, and Sinclair.²

The perfection to which the system of paid informers was now carried in Scotland, and the rapid communication of secret intelligence to England and the continent, have been already frequently remarked in the

¹ Anderson, vol. iv. p. 60, Elizabeth's Commissioners to the Queen, 11th October, 1568, from Caligula, C. i. fol. 198.

² Anderson, vol. i. p. 107, from a copy in the Cottonian Library, Caligula, C. i. fol. 1. Keith, p. 381. There is a contemporary copy of the bond in the State-paper Office ; it is dated April 19, 1567, and bears this endorsement in Randolph's hand, "Upon this was grounded the accusation of the Earl Morton."

course of this History ; but at no time did Elizabeth possess more certain information than at the present. She knew and watched with intense interest every step taken by Mary : her far-reaching and sagacious eye had, it is probable, already detected the ruin of her beautiful and envied rival, in that career of passion upon which it was now too apparent to all that she had entered ; and her ministers, Cecil and Bedford, who managed the affairs of Scotland, availed themselves with indefatigable assiduity of every possible source of information. Nor did they want assistants in that country, where a party was now secretly organizing for the protection of the prince and the government, against the audacious designs of Bothwell.

Of this confederacy the most powerful at this moment were Argyle, Athole, Morton, and Sir William Kirkaldy, or, as he was commonly called, the Laird of Grange, a person of great influence, reputed the best military leader in Scotland, intimately acquainted with the politics of England and the continent, and, as we have already seen, strongly attached to the Protestant cause. The audacity and success of Bothwell naturally roused such a man, and all who professed the same principles ; they justly believed, that he who had murdered the father would have little scruple in removing the son ; they were aware of the infamous bond for the queen's marriage, some of them indeed had signed it ; and they asserted that the unhappy princess, who should have watched over the preservation of her child, was no longer mistress of her own actions. To declare themselves prematurely would have been ruin, considering the power of their opponent ; they therefore secretly collected their strength, and gave warning to their friends, but determined to take no open step till they had consulted the wishes of Elizabeth.

For this purpose Grange addressed a letter to the Earl of Bedford on the day after Ansley's supper. He described the miserable servitude of the nobles, and the infatuation of the queen, but assured him, in strong terms, that even now, if Elizabeth would assist him and his friends, the murder of their sovereign should not long be unavenged. He enlarged on the imminent danger of the prince, and predicted Mary's speedy marriage to Bothwell, of whom, he added, she had become so shamelessly enamoured, that she had been heard to say, "She cared not to lose France, England, and her own country, for him, and shall go with him to the world's end in a white petticoat, before she leave him." He concluded his letter in these severe words, "Whatever is dishonest reigns presently in our court: God deliver them from their evil."¹

This letter from Grange was soon after followed by a still more remarkable anonymous communication. Whilst Mary and Bothwell believed their secret plans were safe, their confidential agents had betrayed them to this informer, by whom instant intelligence was sent to England, that the Countess of Bothwell, Huntley's sister, was about to divorce the earl; and that the queen had projected with her favourite, that seizure of her person, in which she was to be carried with a show of violence to Dunbar. The letter, which was probably addressed to Cecil, is too remarkable to be omitted.

"This is to advertise you, that the Earl Bothwell's wife is going to part with her husband; and a great part of our lords have subscribed the marriage between the queen and him. The queen rode to Stirling this last Monday and returns this Thursday. I doubt not but you have heard how the Earl of Bothwell has gathered

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Grange to Bedford, 20th April, 1567.

many of his friends, and, as some say, to ride in Liddesdale ; but I believe it is not, for he is minded to meet the queen this day called Thursday, and to take her by the way and bring her to Dunbar. Judge you gif¹ it be with her will or no ? but you will hear at more length on Friday or Saturday, if you will find it good that I continue in writing as occasion serves. I wald ye reif this² after the reading ; this bearer knows nothing of this matter. There is no other thing presently to write of : but after all, you will please receive my heartly commendations by him that is yours, that took you by the hand. At midnight.”³

The intelligence given in this letter proved true. Mary, on Monday the 21st April, repaired to Stirling to visit the prince her son, and was much offended with the Earl of Mar, his governor, who, from some suspicion which he entertained, refused to allow the queen to enter the royal apartments with more than two of her ladies.⁴ In the mean season Bothwell had assembled his friends, to the number of eight hundred spears ; and meeting her at Almond Bridge, six miles from Edinburgh, he suddenly surrounded her attendants, and with a show of violence conducted her to Dunbar, his own castle, which he had prepared for her reception.⁵ In the royal cavalcade thus surprised were Lethington, Huntley, Sir James Melvil, and some others. The three last were carried prisoners to Dunbar with the queen, the rest were suffered to

¹ If.

² I would have you tear this.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office. This letter, though undated, contains internal proof that it was written on Thursday, the 24th April, at midnight, the day Bothwell carried off the queen to Dunbar. Cecil's Journal in Anderson, vol. ii. p. 275. Keith, p. 383.

⁴ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, April 27, 1567.

⁵ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, April 27, 1567. Ibid. same to same, B.C. April 25, 1567. Ibid. B.C. same to same, April 30, 1567.

pursue their journey ; but when Melvil remonstrated against such usage, he was informed by Captain Blacater, a confidential servant, of Bothwell, that all had been done with the queen's own consent.¹ And it cannot be denied, that every thing which now happened, seemed strongly to confirm this assertion.

On the 26th of April, only two days after the event, Grange addressed this indignant letter to Bedford :

" This queen will never cease, unto such time as she have wrecked all the honest men of this realm. She was minded to cause Bothwell ravish her,² to the end that she may the sooner end the marriage whilk she promised before she caused Bothwell murder her husband. There is many that would revenge the murder, but they fear your mistress. I am so suited to for to enterprise the revenge, that I must either take it upon hand, or else I man³ leave the country, the whilk⁴ I am determined to do, if I can obtain licence ; but Bothwell is minded to cut me off, if he may, ere I obtain it, and is returned out of Stirling to Edinburgh. She minds hereafter to take the prince out of the Earl of Mar's hands, and put him in his hands that murdered his father, as I writ in my last. I pray your lordship let me know what your mistress will do, for if we will seek France, we may find favour at their hands ; but I would rather persuade to lean to England. This meikle⁵ in haste, from my house the 26th of April." ⁶

Mary was now swept forward by the current of a

¹ Melvil's Memoirs, p. 177. Bannatyne edit.

² Used here in the sense of forcibly to seize; *rapiō*.

³ Must.

⁴ Which.

⁵ Much.

⁶ MS. letter, State-paper Office. Copy of the time, backed in the handwriting of Cecil's clerk, "Copy of the Laird of Grange's letter to the Earl of Bedford."

blind and infatuated passion. A divorce between Bothwell and his countess, Lady Jane Gordon, was procured with indecent haste; and it was suspected that the recent restoration of his consistorial rights to the Archbishop of St Andrews, had been made with this object. The process was hurried through the court of that prelate, and the commissariat, or reformed court, in two days.¹ After a brief residence at Dunbar, under the roof of the man accused of the murder of her husband, and the forcible seizure of her person, the queen and Bothwell rode to the capital.² As she entered the town, his followers cast away their spears, to save themselves, as was conjectured, from any charge of treason; and their master, with apparent courtesy, dismounting, took the queen's bridle, and led her into the castle under a salvo of artillery.³ It was a sight which her friends beheld with the deepest sorrow, and her enemies with triumph and derision.

A few days after this, Sir Robert Melvil, who had joined the coalition for the revenge of the king's murder and the delivery of the queen, wrote secretly to Cecil. His object was to warn the English minister that France was ready to join the lords against Bothwell, and to excuse, as far as he possibly could, the unaccountable conduct of his mistress. They were resolved, he said, never to consider their sovereign at liberty so long as she remained in the company of that traitor, who had committed so detestable a murder, whatever he might persuade or compel her to say to the contrary. "I understand," said he, "that the nobility are of mind to suit assistance of the queen

¹ Keith, p. 383. Also, original, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, May 2, 1567.

² On the 3d of May.

³ Anderson, vol. ii. p. 276.

your mistress, in consideration that the king, who is with God, as well as the queen our sovereign, and the prince her son, are so near of blood to her highness. I believe easy help shall obtain the queen's liberty, and in like manner have the murderers of the king punished. Thus far I will make your honour privy of, that France has offered to enter in band with the nobility of the realm, and to enlist the company of men-at-arms, and to give divers pensions to noblemen and gentlemen of their realm, which some did like well; but the honest sort has concluded, and brought the rest to the same effect, that they will do nothing which may offend your sovereign, without the fault be in her majesty; and it appears both Papist and Protestant join together with an earnest affection for the weal of their country." He then added, that Bothwell, as all thought, would soon end the marriage, and pass to Stirling to seize the prince. He entreated Cecil to consider the queen his sovereign's conduct as rather the effect of the evil counsel of those about her, than proceeding from herself; and lastly begged him to destroy his letter.¹

Next day Grange wrote on the same subject to Bedford, and in still more striking terms. "All such things," said he, "as were done before the parliament, I did write unto your lordship at large. * * At that time the most part of the nobility, for fear of their lives, did grant to sundry things both against their honours and consciences, who since have convened themselves at Stirling, where they have made a 'band' to defend [each] other in all things that shall concern the glory of God and commonweal of their country. The heads that presently they agreed upon is, first, to seek the liberty of the queen, who is ravished and

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Melvil to Cecil, 7th May, 1567. Dated Kernes in Fife.

detained by the Earl of Bothwell, who was the ravisher, and hath the strengths, munitions, and men of war at his commandment. The next head is, the preservation and keeping of the prince. The third is, to pursue them that murdered the king. For the pursuit of these three heads, they have promised to bestow their lives, lands, and goods. And to that effect their lordships have desired me to write unto your lordship, to the end they might have your sovereign's aid and support for suppressing of the cruel murderer Bothwell, who, at the queen's last being in Stirling, suborned certain to have poisoned the prince; for that barbarous tyrant is not contented to have murdered the father, but he would also cut off the son, for fear that he hath to be punished hereafter. The names of the lords that convened in Stirling was the Earls of Argyle, Morton, Athole, and Mar. Those forenamed, as said is, have desired me to write unto your lordship, to the end that I might know by you, if your sovereign would give them support concerning these three heads above written. * * * Wherefore I beseech your lordship, who I am assured loveth the quietness of these two realms, to let me have a direct answer, and that with haste; for presently the fore-said lords are suited unto by Monsieur De Croc, who offereth unto them in his master the King of France's name, if they will follow his advice and counsel, that they shall have aid and support to suppress the Earl Bothwell and his faction. * * * Also he hath admonished her [Mary] to desist from the Earl Bothwell, and not to marry him; for if she do, he hath assured her, that she shall neither have friendship nor favour out of France, if she shall have to do:¹ but his saying is, she will give no ear. * * *

¹ If she shall have to resist her enemies.

"There is to be joined with the four forenamed lords, the Earls of Glencairn, Cassillis, Eglinton, Montrose, Caithness ; the Lords Boyd, Ochiltree, Ruthven, Drummond, Gray, Glammis, Innermeith, Lindsay, Hume, and Herries, with all the whole West Merse and Teviotdale, the most part of Fife, Angus, and Mearns. And for this effect the Earl of Argyle is ridden in the west, the Earl of Athole to the north, and the Earl of Morton to Fife, Angus, and Montrose. The Earl of Mar remaineth still about the prince ; and if the queen will pursue him, the whole lords have promised, upon their faiths and honour, to relieve him. * * *

"In this meantime the queen is come to the castle of Edinburgh, conveyed by the Earl Bothwell, where she intendeth to remain until she have levied some forces of footmen and horsemen, that is, she minds to levy five hundred footmen, and two hundred horsemen. The money that she hath presently to do this, which is five thousand crowns, came from the font your lordship brought unto the baptism ; the rest is to be reft and borrowed of Edinburgh, or the men of Lothian. * * *

"It will please your lordship also to haste these other letters to my Lord of Moray, and write unto him to come back again into Normandy, that he may be in readiness against my lords write unto him."¹

These important letters of Melvil and Kirkaldy, hitherto quite unknown, establish some new facts in this portion of our history. We see clearly from them that the formidable coalition against the queen, which our historians describe as arising after the marriage

¹ Copy of the time, State-paper Office, 8th May, 1567, Grange to Bedford. Also, MS. letter State-paper Office, B.C. Bedford to Cecil, May 11, 1567.

with Bothwell, was fully formed nearly a month before that event ; that its ramifications were extensive and deep ; that Sir Robert Melvil, in whom the Scottish queen reposed implicit confidence, had joined the confederacy, in the hope of rescuing his royal mistress from what he represents as an unwilling servitude ; that the plot was well known to Monsieur De Croc, the French ambassador, who, after having in vain remonstrated with Mary against her predilection for Bothwell, gave it his cordial support ; and lastly, that it had been communicated to Elizabeth, whose assistance was earnestly solicited.

But the English princess cherished high and peculiar ideas of prerogative ; and while she blamed in severe terms the conduct of the Scottish queen, she was incensed at the bold and scurrilous tone in which Grange had dared to arraign the proceedings of his sovereign. Upon this point a remarkable conversation took place between her and Randolph, in the palace garden, of which, fortunately, this minister, on the same day that it occurred, wrote an account to Leicester. His expressions are forcible : “ These news,” said he, (meaning Mary’s intended marriage,) “ it pleased her majesty to tell me this day, [May 10,] walking in her garden, with great misliking of that queen’s doing, which now she doth so much detest, that she is ashamed of her. Notwithstanding, her majesty doth not like that her subjects should by any force withstand that which they do see her bent unto ; and yet doth she greatly fear, lest that Bothwell having the upper hand, he will rein again with the French, and either make away with the prince, or send him into France ; which deliberation her majesty would gladly have stayed, but it is very uncertain how it may be brought to pass.

"Her majesty also told me that she had seen a writing sent from Grange to my Lord of Bedford, despitefully written against that queen, in such vile terms as she could not abide the hearing of it, wherein he made her worse than any common woman. She would not that any subject, what cause soever there be proceeding from the prince, or whatsoever her life and behaviour is, should discover that unto the world; and thereof so utterly misliketh of Grange's manner of writing and doing, that she condemns him for one of the worst in that realm, seeming somewhat to warn me of my familiarity with him, and willing that I should admonish him of her misliking. In this manner of talk it pleased her majesty to retain me almost an hour."¹

It is now time that we return to the extraordinary course of events in Scotland, which fulfilled the predictions of Melvil and Grange. The church was ordered to proclaim the banns of the queen's marriage. This they peremptorily refused. Craig, one of the ministers, Knox being now absent, alleged, as his excuse, that Mary had sent no written command, and stated the common report that she had been ravished, and was kept captive by Bothwell. Upon this the justice-clerk brought him a letter signed by the queen herself, asserting the falsehood of such a story, and requiring his obedience. He still resisted, demanded to be confronted with the parties; and, in presence of the privy council, where Bothwell sat, this undaunted minister laid to his charge the dreadful crimes of which he was suspected, rape, adultery, and murder. To the

¹ This letter has never before been published, but is printed in the appendix to the anonymous privately printed work already mentioned, entitled "Maitland's Narrative." The appendix consists of letters and other papers relating to the history of Mary Queen of Scotland.

accusation no satisfactory answer was returned ; but Craig, having exonerated his conscience, did not deem himself entitled to disobey the express command of his sovereign. He therefore proclaimed the banns in the High Church ; but from the pulpit, and in presence of the congregation, added these appalling words : "I take heaven and earth to witness, that I abhor and detest this marriage, as odious and slanderous to the world ; and I would exhort the faithful to pray earnestly, that a union against all reason and good conscience may yet be overruled by God, to the comfort of this unhappy realm."¹

This solemn warning, with the deep and general detestation of Bothwell, appeared to produce so little effect upon the queen, that the people considered the whole events as strange and supernatural : the report revived of this abandoned man having employed witchcraft, no uncommon resource in that age ; and it was currently asserted, that the marriage day had been fixed by sorcerers.²

On the 12th of May, Mary came in person into the high court at Edinburgh, and addressed the chancellor, the judges, and the nobility, whom she had summoned for the occasion. Having understood, she said, that some doubts had been entertained by the lords, whether they ought to sit for the administration of the laws, their sovereign being detained in captivity at Dunbar by Lord Bothwell, she informed them that they might now dismiss their scruples ; for although at first incensed at the conduct of that nobleman in the

¹ Anderson, vol. iv. p. 280. MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, May 14, 1567. Also, original, State-paper Office, May 12, 1567, B.C. Drury to Cecil.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, 12th or 13th May, 1567. See also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. same to same, 20th May.

seizure of her person, she had forgiven him his offence in consequence of his subsequent good conduct, and meant to promote him to still higher honour.¹ On the same day, accordingly, he was created Duke of Orkney and Shetland, the queen with her own hands placing the coronet on his head;² and on the 15th of May, the marriage took place at four in the morning in the presence chamber at Holyrood. It was remarked that Mary was married in her mourning weeds. The ceremony was performed after the rite of the Protestant church by the Bishop of Orkney, Craig the minister of Edinburgh being also present. In the sermon which he preached on the occasion, the bishop professed Bothwell's penitence for his former evil life, and his resolution to amend and conform himself to the church.³ Few of the leading nobility were present, the event was unattended with the usual pageants and rejoicings, the people looked on in stern and gloomy silence ; and next morning, a paper, with this ominous verse, was found fixed to the palace gates :

Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait.⁴

¹ Anderson, vol. i. p. 87.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, 14th May, 1567, Berwick, with its enclosure.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, May 16, 1567. Also, B.C. same to the same, Berwick, 20th May, 1567.

⁴ The line is from Ovid. Fastorum, Lib. 5. 490.

CHAP. VI.

M A R Y.

1567.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Portugal.</i>	<i>Pope.</i>
Elizabeth.	Charles IX.	Maximilian II.	Philip II.	Sebastian.	Pius V.

IT was not to be expected that the late appalling events would be regarded with indifference by the people, the reformed clergy, or the more honest part of the nobility. Bothwell was universally reputed the principal murderer of the king; he was now the husband of their sovereign; and it was commonly reported that he had already laid his schemes to get possession of the young prince, who was kept at Stirling castle, under the governance of the Earl of Mar. Nor are we to wonder if men even looked with suspicion to the future conduct of the queen herself. She had apparently surrendered her mind to the dominion of a passion which rendered her deaf to every suggestion of delicacy and prudence, almost of virtue. She had refused to listen to the entreaties and arguments of her best friends: to Lord Herries, who on his knees implored her not to marry the duke; to De Croc the French ambassador, who urged the same request; to Beaton her own ambassador; to Sir James Melvil, whose remonstrances against Bothwell nearly cost

him his life.¹ In the face of all this she had precipitated her marriage with this daring and wicked man ; and public rumour still accused her of being a party to the murder. Of this last atrocious imputation, indeed, no direct proof was yet brought or offered ; but even if we dismiss it as absolutely false, was any mother who acted such a part worthy to be intrusted with the keeping and education of the heir to the throne ?

So deeply felt were these considerations, that, as we have seen, a coalition for the destruction of Bothwell, and the preservation of the prince, was now widely organized in Scotland. Of this confederacy Lethington was secretly a member, although he still remained at Dunbar with the queen. Becoming suspected, however, Bothwell and his associate Huntley had resolved on Lethington's death ; when Mary threw herself between them, and declared, that if a hair of his head perished, it should be at the peril of their life and lands. Thus preserved, he continued his intrigues, and only waited a favourable opportunity to make his escape and join his friends.² The plans of the associated lords had been communicated to Moray, then in France ; they were sure to meet with the sanction of the reformed church, and the sympathy of the people : France encouraged them ; and Robert Melvil and Grange, two leading men in the confederacy, had informed Cecil and Elizabeth of their intentions. Her answer was now anxiously expected.

But this princess, at all times jealous of the royal prerogative, was startled when she understood that the combined lords had not only resolved to prosecute

¹ Melvil's Memoirs, pp. 176, 177.

² M.S. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, 6th May, 1567
Melvil's Memoirs, p. 178.

Bothwell for the murder, and to rescue the queen from his thraldom, but to crown the prince.¹ In reply to the picture they drew of the violent restraint put upon their sovereign, she informed them, that if Mary's own letters to herself were to be trusted, she was in no thraldom, but had consented to all that had happened. She observed, that "to crown her son during his mother's life was a matter, for example's sake, not to be digested by her or any other monarch;" but she added, that if they would deliver the young prince into her hands to be kept in England, she felt inclined to support them. In the meantime the Earl of Bedford was ordered to hasten northward,² that he might have an eye on their movements, and afford them some encouragement; whilst Cecil, her indefatigable minister, had so craftily laid his spies about the court, that he received instant information of the minutest movements of Mary and Bothwell, of the French intrigues carried on by De Croc, and of every step taken by the lords of the secret council. For a brief season after their marriage, the queen and the duke appeared to forget that they had an enemy; and when Mary was informed of the private meetings of her opponents, she treated them with contempt. "Athole," said she, "is but feeble: for Argyle, I know well how to stop his mouth; as for Morton, his boots are but new pulled off [alluding to his recent return from banishment] and still soiled, he shall be sent back to his old quarters."³

In the meantime pageants and tourneys were got up to amuse the people; who observed that their queen, casting off her "mourning weed," assumed a gay dress,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, 6th May, 1567

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Bedford to Cecil, 11th May, 1567, and copy, Elizabeth to Bedford, 17th May, 1567.

³ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, 20th May, 1567.

and frequently rode abroad with the duke, making a show of great contentment. Bothwell, too, was studious to treat her with respect, refusing to be covered in her presence, which she sometimes playfully resented, snatching his bonnet and putting it on his head;¹ but there were times when his passionate and brutal temper broke through all restraint; and to those old friends who were still at court, and saw her in private, it was evident, that though she still seemed to love him, she was a changed and miserable woman. On one occasion, which is recorded by Sir James Melvil and De Croc, who were present, his language was so bitter and disdainful, that in a paroxysm of despair she called for a knife to stab herself.²

About a fortnight after the marriage she despatched the Bishop of Dunblane to France and Rome; his instructions, which have been preserved, were drawn up with much skill, and contained a laboured but unsatisfactory apology for her late conduct.³ It was necessary that an envoy should be sent on the same errand to Elizabeth; and here the choice of the queen was unfortunate, for she selected Robert Melvil,⁴ the secret but determined enemy of Bothwell, and one of the principal associates in the confederacy against him and herself. It is possible that this gentleman, who bore an honourable character in these times, may have considered, that in accepting this commission he should be able to serve his royal mistress; and whilst he appeared the active agent of her enemies, might

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil. Berwick, 25th May, 1567. Id. ibid. B.C. Drury, to Cecil, 20th May, and 27th May, 1567.

² Melvil's Memoirs, Bannatyne edit. p. 180.

³ Keith, p. 388. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. 27th May, 1567, Drury to Cecil. Also, same to same, 20th May, 1567.

⁴ Declaration of Robert Melvil. Hopetoun MSS.

secretly check the violence of their designs and labour for her preservation. But whatever may have been his motives, it is certain that he availed himself of the confidence with which he was treated, to reveal her purposes to his confederates, and in the execution of his mission acted for both parties. He received letters from Mary and Bothwell to Elizabeth and Cecil ; he was instructed, as he has himself informed us, to excuse his mistress's recent marriage, and to persuade Elizabeth not to expose her to shame or declare herself an enemy ;¹ and at the same moment he carried letters to the English queen, from the lords of the coalition, who accused her of the murder of her husband, and now meditated her dethronement. So completely was he judged to be in their interest, that Morton, the leader of the enterprise, described him to Elizabeth as their trusty friend, whom they had commissioned to declare their latent enterprise to her majesty.²

Bothwell's letter, which he sent by this envoy to Elizabeth, is worthy of notice. It is expressed in a bold, almost a kingly tone. He was aware, he said, of the queen's ill opinion of him ; but he protested that it was undeserved ; declared his resolution to preserve the amity between the two kingdoms, and professed his readiness to do her majesty all honour and service. Men of greater birth, so he concluded, might have been preferred to the high station he now occupied ; none, he boldly affirmed, could have been chosen more zealous for the preservation of her majesty's friendship, of which she should have experience at any time it might be her pleasure to employ him. The style

¹ MS. Declaration of Robert Melvil. Hopetoun MSS.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Maitland to Cecil, 21st and 28th June, 1567. MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Morton and the lords to Elizabeth, Edinburgh, 26th June, 1567.

was different from the servility which so commonly ran through the addresses to this haughty queen, and marked the proud character of mind which, as much as his crimes, distinguished this daring man.¹

Melvil now left Scotland (June 5th) on his mission to the English court; and during his absence, the combined lords rapidly arranged their mode of attack and concentrated their forces. It was judged time to declare themselves; and the contrast between their former and their present conduct was abundantly striking. They who had combined with Bothwell in the conspiracy for the king's murder, and had signed the bond recommending him as a suitable husband for their queen, were now the loudest in their execration of the deed, and their denunciations of the marriage. It was necessary for them, however, from this very circumstance, to act with that caution which accomplices in guilt must adopt when they attempt to expose and punish a companion. If Morton, Argyle, Huntley, Lethington, and Balfour, possessed evidence to convict Bothwell and his servants of the murder of the king, it was not to be forgotten that Bothwell could recriminate, and prove, by the production of the bond, that they had consented to the same crime. We know, too, that he had shown this bond to some of the actual murderers; and unless they were slain in hot blood, or made away with before they had an opportunity of speaking out, the whole dark story might be revealed. These apprehensions, which seem to me not to have been sufficiently kept in mind,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Bothwell to Elizabeth, 5th June, 1567. Bothwell at the same time wrote to Cecil and Sir N. Throckmorton, by Robert Melvil. His letter to Cecil is in the State-paper Office, dated June 5; that to Throckmorton in the possession of Mr Rodd, bookseller, Great Newport Street.

account for the extraordinary circumstances which soon after occurred.

Mary had summoned her nobles to attend her with their feudal forces on an expedition to Liddesdale, but most of them had already left court, and neglected the order. Huntley, who had been much in her confidence, corresponded with her enemies.¹ Lethington, the secretary, whom we have seen carried prisoner to Dunbar, pretended still to be devoted to her service, but betrayed all her purposes to the confederate lords; and at length, finding a good opportunity, suddenly left the court. Moray, it was said, had come to England, and taken a decided part against her; and Hume, one of the most warlike and powerful border lords, was active in his opposition.² No army, therefore, could be assembled; so detested, indeed, was Bothwell, that even the soldiers whom he had in pay incurred his suspicion; and it was reported he only trusted one company, commanded by Captain Cullen, a man suspected to be deeply implicated in the king's murder.³

Under these circumstances of discouragement, the queen and the duke had retired to Borthwick castle, a seat of the Laird of Crookston's, about ten miles from Edinburgh, when the confederates, led by Hume and the other border chiefs, made a rapid night march, and suddenly surrounded the place. They were nearly a thousand strong; and along with him were Morton, Mar, Lindsay, Grange, and their followers, who deemed themselves sure of their prize; but Bothwell escaped through a postern in the back wall, to Haddington.

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, 20th May, 1567.

² Ibid. 7th June, 1567. Ibid. 16th May, 1567. Ibid. 25th May, 1567.

³ Ibid. 31st May, 1567, with an undated letter, probably an enclosure.

Here he remained a day in concealment, and then reached Dunbar, where he was next day joined by the queen, who fled in man's apparel, booted and spurred, from Borthwick, and thus eluded notice.¹ Disappointed in their first attempt, the confederates marched to the capital, which they reached at four in the morning, broke open the gates, took possession of the city, and published a proclamation, declaring that they had risen in arms to revenge the death of the king, and the forcible abduction of their sovereign.² Here they were soon after joined by the Earl of Athole, and the noted Lethington, a man who had belonged to all parties, and had deserted all, yet whose vigour of mind, and great capacity for state affairs, made him still welcome, wherever he turned himself. High wages were now offered to any volunteers who would come forward; and to give greater publicity to the cause for which they fought, a banner was displayed, on which was painted the body of the murdered king, lying under a tree as he had been first found, with the young prince kneeling beside it, and underneath, the motto "*Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord.*" The sight of this, and the tenor of their proclamation, produced a strong effect; and the confederates had the satisfaction to find, not only that the common people and the magistrates warmly espoused their cause, but that Sir James Balfour, who enjoyed the highest confidence with Bothwell, and commanded the castle, was ready to join them. This infamous man had, as we have seen, been deeply implicated in the murder, and was reported to

¹ Sloane MSS. Ayscough, 3199, British Museum, copy, John Beaton to his brother, 11th to 17th June. Printed by Laing, vol. ii. p. 106. MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, Berwick, 12th June, 1567.

² Anderson, vol. i. p. 131. MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. 12th June, 1567, Drury to Cecil. Ibid. same to same, 14th June, 1567.

have some secret papers regarding it in his keeping. His anticipated defection, therefore, gave new spirit to the party.¹

Whilst such was the state of things in the city, Mary and Bothwell had assembled their followers at Dunbar, and such was the effect of the royal name, that many of the border barons and gentry deserted Hume, and joined the queen's camp. Along with them came the Lords Seton, Yester, and Borthwick, so that within a short time her force amounted to about 2000 men. With these Mary and the Duke of Orkney instantly marched against the enemy, leaving Dunbar on the 14th June, and advancing that night to Seton. Next morning she caused a proclamation to be read to the army, in which her opponents were arraigned as traitors, who for their private ends had determined to overturn the government. They pretended, she said, to prosecute the duke her husband, for the king's murder, after he had been already fully acquitted of the crime; they declared their resolution to rescue herself from captivity, but she was no captive, as they who had themselves recommended her marriage with the duke well knew; they had taken arms, as they affirmed, to defend the prince her son, but he was in their own hands, and how then could they think him in danger? in short, all was a mere cover for their treason, and this she trusted soon to prove, by the aid of her faithful subjects, on the persons of these unnatural rebels.² Her next step was to intrench herself on Carberry hill, within the old works which had been

¹ Beaton to his brother, from Sloane MSS. 3199. Laing, Appendix, vol. ii. p. 106. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Scrope to Cecil, B.C. Carlisle, June 16, 1567.

² Spottiswood, p. 206, Beaton to his brother. Laing, vol. ii. pp. 106, 110. MS. letter, State-paper Office, Drury to Cecil, B.C. 14th June, 1567.

thrown up by the English army previous to the battle of Pinkie.

Mary here awaited her opponents, who showed no less alacrity to engage, marching from Edinburgh on the morning of Sunday the 15th, and taking the route to Musselburgh, which soon brought them in sight of their adversaries. Monsieur De Croc, the French ambassador, was then with the queen. He had disapproved of her marriage; and we have seen that he had even encouraged the confederates, with a view of having the prince sent to France;¹ but he now made an attempt at mediation, and carried a message to Morton and Glencairn, assuring them of their sovereign's disposition to pardon the past, on condition that they returned to their duty. "We have not come here," said Glencairn, when he heard this proposal, "to solicit pardon for ourselves, but rather to give it to those who have offended."—"We are in arms," added Morton, "not against our queen, but the Duke of Orkney, the murderer of her husband. Let him be delivered up, or let her majesty remove him from her company, and we shall yield her obedience."²

It was evident from this reply that there was little hope of peace, and the confederate lords were the more determined, as an indisposition to fight was beginning to be apparent in the royal troops, some men at that moment stealing over to the enemy. Observing this, Bothwell, who was never deficient in personal courage, rode forward, and, by a herald, sent his defiance to any

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, 9th June, 1567. Also, same to same, MS. letter, State-paper Office, 31st May, 1567. Also, 15th June, 1567, Bedford to Leicester, MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C.

² Keith, p. 401. MS. letter, State-paper Office, Scrope to Cecil, Carlisle, 17th June, 1567, B.C. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, Berwick, 18th and 19th June, 1567.

one that dared arraign him of the king's murder. His gage was accepted by James Murray of Tullibardine, the same baron who had, it was said, affixed the denunciation to the Tolbooth gate; but Bothwell refused to enter the lists with one who was not his peer, and singled out Morton, who readily answered, that he would fight him instantly on foot and with two-handed swords. Upon this, Lord Lindsay of the Byres interfered. The combat, he contended, belonged of right to him, as the relative of the murdered king; and he implored the associate lords by the services he had done, and still hoped to do, that they would grant him the courtesy to meet the duke in this quarrel. It was deemed proper to humour Lindsay; and Morton presented him with his own sword, a weapon well known and highly valued, as having been once wielded by his renowned ancestor, Archibald Bell-the-Cat. Lindsay then proceeded to arm himself; and kneeling down before the ranks, audibly implored God to strengthen his arm, to punish the guilty and protect the innocent. Bothwell, too, seemed eager to fight, but at this critical juncture Mary interfered, and resolutely forbade the encounter.¹

By this time it was evident that desertion was spreading rapidly in her army; nor had her remonstrances the least effect. She implored them to advance, assured them of victory, taunted them with cowardice; but all to so little purpose, that when Grange, at the head of his troops, began to wheel round the hill, so as to turn their flank, the panic became general, and the

¹ Copy of the time, State-paper Office, Haryson to Cecil, probably June 16, 1567. The name is scored out but readable. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, June 19, 1567, with enclosure. Calderwood, MS. History, Ayscough, 4735, p. 668. Also, Spottiswood, p. 207.

queen and Bothwell were left with only sixty gentlemen, and the band of hagbutters.¹ It was his design to throw himself between Dunbar and this little force, thus cutting off Bothwell's escape; but Mary perceived it, and sent the Laird of Ormiston to demand a parley. This was immediately granted; and when Grange rode forward, he assured his sovereign of their readiness to obey her, if that man who now stood beside her, and was guilty of the king's murder, were dismissed. To this she replied, that if the lords promised to return to their allegiance, she would leave the duke and put herself in their hands. He carried this message to his brethren, and came back with a solemn assurance that, on such conditions, they were ready to receive and obey her as their sovereign. Hearing this, the queen, ever too credulous and apt to act on the impulse of the moment, held a moment's conversation aside with Bothwell. What passed can only be conjectured; he appeared to waver and remonstrate, but when she gave him her hand, he took farewell, turned his horse's head and rode off the field, none of the confederates offering the least impediment.² It was the last time they ever met.

Mary now awaited for some time till he was out of danger, and then, coming forward, exclaimed : "Laird of Grange, I surrender to you on the conditions you have specified in the name of the lords." That baron then took her hand, which he kissed ; and holding her

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Scrope to Cecil, June 17, 1567.

² Raumer, quoting De Croc's Despatches, pp. 100, 101. De Croc says in his letter to Catherine De Medici, "Bothwell became greatly alarmed, and at last asked the queen whether she would keep the promise of fidelity which she had made to him. She answered, Yes, and gave him her hand upon it. He then mounted his horse, and fled with a few attendants." All this, however, must, as I have said, be conjecture. De Croc was not present : after his unsuccessful attempt at mediation, he had retired to Edinburgh. Spottiswood, p. 207.

horse's bridle, conducted her down the hill to the confederates. On reaching the lines she was met by the nobles, who received her on their knees. "Here, madam," said Morton, "is the true place where your grace should be, and here we are ready to defend and obey you as loyally as ever nobility of this realm did your progenitors." So fully felt was this sentiment, that when some of the common soldiers began to utter opprobrious language, Grange drew his sword and compelled them into silence.

Such was the extraordinary scene which led to the escape of Bothwell; and it demands a moment's reflection. The confederate nobles had declared that their object in taking arms was, to bring this infamous man to justice, as the murderer of the king; yet, at the moment when they had him in their power, he was permitted to escape. Nothing could appear more inconsistent; and yet, perhaps, looking to the motives which have been already pointed out, it will not be found unnatural. He, indeed, was the principal murderer; but, Morton, Huntley, Lethington, and Argyle, were aware, that if driven to his defence, he could bring them in as accomplices. They allowed him to escape, because he was infinitely more easily dealt with as a fugitive than as a prisoner.

But to return to Mary. Encouraged by the first appearances of courtesy, she declared her wish to communicate with the Hamiltons, who, the night before, had advanced in considerable strength to Linlithgow. This was peremptorily refused, upon which she broke into reproaches, appealed to their promise, and demanded how they dared to treat her as a prisoner. Her questions and her arguments were unheeded, and she now bitterly repented her precipitation. Her spirit, however, instead of being subdued, was rather roused

by their baseness. She called for Lindsay, one of the fiercest of the confederate barons, and bade him give her his hand. He obeyed. "By the hand," said she, "which is now in yours, I'll have your head for this."¹ Unfortunate princess! When she spoke thus, little did she know how soon that unrelenting hand, which had been already stained with Riccio's blood, would fall still heavier yet upon herself.

It was now evening, and the queen, riding between Morton and Athole, was conducted to the capital, where she awoke to all the horrors of her situation.² She was a captive in the hands of her worst enemies : the populace, as she rode through the streets, received her with yells and execrations ; the women, pressing round, accused her in coarse terms as an adulteress stained with her husband's blood ; and the soldiers, unrestrained by their officers, kept constantly waving before her eyes the banner on which was painted the murdered king and the prince crying for vengeance. At first they shut her up in the provost's house, where she was strictly guarded. It was in vain she remonstrated against this breach of faith ; in vain she implored them to remember that she was their sovereign : they were deaf to her entreaties ; and she was compelled to pass the night, secluded even from her women, in solitude and tears. But the morning only brought new horrors. The first object which met her eyes was the same dreadful banner, which, with a refinement in cruelty, the populace had hung up directly opposite her windows. The sight brought on an agony of despair and delirium, in the midst of which she tore the

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, June 18, 1567. Also, copy, State-paper Office, probably June 16, 1567, Haryson to Cecil.

² Letter of John Beaton to his brother, Sloane MSS. Ayscough, 3199, printed by Laing, vol. ii. p. 106.

dress from her person, and, forgetting that she was almost naked, attempted in her frenzy to address the people.¹ This piteous spectacle could not be seen without producing an impression in her favour; and the citizens were taking measures for her rescue, when she was suddenly removed to Holyrood. Here a hurried consultation was held, and in the evening she was sent a prisoner to Lochleven, a castle situated in the midst of a lake, belonging to Douglas, one of the confederates, and from which escape was deemed impossible. In her journey thither, she was treated with studied indignity, exposed to the gaze of the mob, miserably clad, mounted on a sorry hackney, and placed under the charge of Lindsay and Ruthven, men of savage manners even in this age, and who were esteemed peculiarly fitted for the task.² Against this base conduct, it is said that Grange loudly remonstrated, and that, to silence his reproaches, the lords produced an intercepted letter, written by the queen from her prison in Edinburgh to Bothwell, in which she assured him that she would never desert him. The story is told by Melvil, but I have found no trace of it; and Grange had already manifested such bitter hostility to his sovereign, that his sincerity may be questioned, especially as he continued to act with his former associates.³

Thus far the measures of the confederates were crowned with success. The queen was a prisoner in their hands; they were possessed of the person of the heir-apparent, who had been committed to the governance of Mar, one of their principal leaders; Bothwell

¹ John Beaton to his brother, 17th June, 1567. Laing, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 106.

² Id. ibid. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Drury to Cecil, B.C. June 18, 1567.

³ Melvil's Memoirs, Bannatyne edition, p. 185.

was a fugitive, and they were sustained in every thing they had done by the support of the ministers of the reformed church, and by the general voice of the people. For the present, therefore, all was deemed secure; and, on considering their future policy, they determined to pause till it was seen with what feelings the late events were regarded by England and France. With this view they lost no time in despatching letters, first to Elizabeth, and after a little interval to the King of France. To the English queen they declared that their only motive in taking up arms had been the punishment of the king's murder: they assured her, that so soon as this was accomplished, their sovereign should be restored to freedom; and as for the coronation of the young prince, that such an idea had never been contemplated. In conclusion, they expressed a hope that she would consider their want of money, and send them the sum of three or four thousand crowns to hire soldiers, in return for which they were ready to refuse the offers of France, and submit to be wholly guided by England.¹

To France their letters were full of amity, but more general and guarded. De Croc the ambassador, had at once perceived the advantage of securing the friendship of the successful party. Although pretending a great zeal for Mary's service, he really favoured the confederates, and had not only proposed that the young prince should be brought up under the care of the king his master, but advised them to keep the Queen of Scots securely, now that they had her in their hands.²

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Sir John Forster to Cecil, June 20, 1567. The messenger's name was John Rede, with instructions enclosed. Also, State-paper Office, Drury to Cecil, June 20, 1567. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Bedford to Cecil, June 23, 1567.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, June 20, 1567.

To him the confederates gave fair words, but prudently determined not to commit themselves, till they heard more definitively from England. They at the same time entered into communication with Moray and the Earl of Lennox, whose presence they required in Scotland.¹

At this crisis, (June 20th,) according to the evidence of Cecil's journal, which has been, on insufficient grounds, I think, suspected of forgery, the lords of the secret council, through the treachery of a servant of Bothwell's, became possessed of a box or casket, which was said to contain some private letters and sonnets addressed by the queen to the duke. This was that celebrated silver casket, which afterwards made so much noise, and in which, as asserted by the enemies of Mary, were found decided proofs of her guilt. The whole details connected with the story are suspicious; nor is it the least suspicious of these circumstances, that in the confidential letters of Drury to Cecil, written at this period from day to day, and embracing the most minute information of every thing which passed, there is no allusion to such a seizure. It is, however, to be remembered that Morton, Lethington, and Sir James Balfour, the three great leaders of the confederacy, were themselves deeply implicated in the assassination of Darnley, and that they would be exceedingly likely to suppress such a discovery, till the contents of the casket were rigidly examined. They knew that Bothwell was in possession of the bond for the king's murder, and the casket might contain it, or other papers equally conclusive. It is certain that on the day of this reported discovery,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, July 9, 1567. Also, ibid. July 12, same to same, and July 19, Scrope to Cecil.

(June 20th,) Morton and his associates despatched George Douglas, one of the most confidential of their number, on a secret mission to the Earl of Bedford, and it is possible his message may have related to it.¹ In this mysterious state we must leave the matter at present.

On hearing of the late extraordinary events in Scotland, Elizabeth's feelings were of a divided kind. Her ideas of the inviolability of the royal prerogative were offended by the imprisonment of the queen. However great were Mary's faults, or even her guilt, it did not accord with the high creed of the English princess, that any subjects should dare to expose or punish them; and we have seen that, in a former conversation with Randolph, she alluded to Grange's letters to Bedford in terms of much bitterness.² But notwithstanding this, she was fully alive to the necessity of supporting a Protestant party in Scotland; and she well knew that nothing could so effectually promote her views, as to induce the confederate lords to refuse the offers of France, and deliver to her the young prince, to be educated in Protestant principles at the court of England. Nor was she ignorant that the able and crafty men who directed their proceedings, had determined to refuse every petition for the restoration of their sovereign to liberty, an event probably as much deprecated by Elizabeth as by themselves.³ It was perfectly safe for the English queen, therefore, to give fair promises to Mary, and to remonstrate with the confederates upon this subject.

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Bedford to Cecil, B.C. June 23, 1567. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Morton and the Lords to Bedford, June 20, 1567.

² Randolph to Leicester, May 10, 1567. *Supra*, p. 410.

³ Gonzalez Apuntamientos, p. 322. Memorias de la Real Acad. de la Historia, vol. vii.

Such being her views, she despatched Robert Melvil, who was then in England, with a letter to his mistress; and ordered Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, one of her ablest diplomatists, to hold himself in readiness to proceed on a mission to Scotland.

Meanwhile the lords of the secret council, who had suffered the principal actor in the king's murder to escape, became active in their search for inferior delinquents. Captain Cullen, a daring follower of Bothwell's, had been seized on their first advance to Edinburgh, and soon after two others, Captain Blacater, and Sebastian de Villours, were apprehended. The foreigner was soon discharged, but Blacater was tried for the murder, convicted, and executed before an immense concourse of spectators, who eagerly surrounded the scaffold. To their disappointment he died solemnly calling God to witness his innocence, and revealed no particulars.¹ Of Cullen, who, it was reported, on his apprehension, had discovered the whole details of the conspiracy, we hear no more. It is possible he may have been commanded to say nothing, because he might have told too much.

These efforts of the confederates to bring the guilty to justice did not satisfy the people; it was suspected, that amongst their leaders were some who dreaded any strict examination; and Morton and Lethington, distrusting the fickle nature of the lower classes, began to dread a reaction in the queen's favour. This was the more alarming, as the rival faction of the Hamiltons had recently mustered in great strength. The head of this party was nominally the Duke of Chastelherault, now in France, but really his brother

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, June 25; also, ibid. same to same, June 27, 1567. Also, Historie of James the Sext, p. 15. Bannatyne edition.

the Archbishop of St Andrews. Failing Mary and her son, the Duke was next heir to the throne ; and he and his advisers had acuteness enough to penetrate into the views of Morton and his party. They saw clearly, that the consequence of the continued captivity of their sovereign, must be the coronation of the young prince, his protection by Elizabeth, and the establishment of a regency, under which Lennox, Morton, or Moray, would engross the whole power of the state. Having been generally opposed to Mary and her marriage, her captivity was not in itself a matter which gave them any very deep concern ; but in weighing the two evils, its continuance and a regency, or her restoration and a third marriage, they chose what they thought the least, and determined to make an effort for her restoration.

For this purpose a convention of the lords of their party was held at Dunbarton, (June 29th,) and proclamation made for all good subjects to be ready, on nine hours' warning, to take arms for the delivery of the queen.¹ They were here joined by Argyle and Huntley, who had deserted the confederates, by Herries, a baron of great power and vigour of character, and by Crawford, with the Lords Seton and Fleming ; whilst the Archbishop of St Andrews, and the celebrated Lesley bishop of Ross, directed their councils.² Their deliberations were watched and reported to his court by De Croc the French ambassa-

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil. He states that "the confederates are very anxious for Lennox's return into Scotland, to beard the Hamiltons." June 20, 1567. Also, same to same, June 25, 1567. State-paper Office, B.C. Also, same to same, MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. June 29 ; and same to same, July 1, 1567, B.C.

² Bond signed by the convention at Dunbarton, June 29, 1567, copy, State-paper Office, and printed by Keith, p. 436.

dor, who found them, as was to be anticipated, more inclined to France than England.¹

It was not to be expected that the lords of the secret council could view such proceedings without anxiety, and they thought it prudent to strengthen themselves by a more intimate union with the party of the reformed church. Here, indeed, was their strongest hold; for the reformed clergy were sternly opposed to the queen, they firmly believed that she was participant in the king's murder, and they possessed the highest influence with the people.

On their taking possession of the capital, immediately after their unsuccessful attempt at Borthwick, Glencairn, one of the fiercest zealots of these times, had signalized his hatred of popery by an attack upon the royal chapel at Holyrood, in which he demolished the altar, and destroyed the shrines and images. This attack, although condemned by some of the party, was not unwelcome to the ministers; and on the 25th of June, an assembly of the church was held at Edinburgh. In this meeting of his friends and brethren, John Knox reappeared. This great leader of the reformed church had fled, as we have seen,² from the capital, immediately after the assassination of Riccio, and had deemed it unsafe to return till the queen was imprisoned in Lochleven. Of his history in this interval we know little: he probably resided chiefly with his relatives in the neighbourhood of Berwick, and he was in England at the time of the king's murder;³ but about a month after that event, he again entered into communication with Bedford and Cecil:⁴ and now that all fear from the animosity of

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Drury to Cecil, B.C. June 29, 1567.

² *Supra*, p. 350.

³ M'Crie's Life of Knox, p. 259.

⁴ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Bedford to Cecil, March 11, 1566-7.

the queen was at an end, and the chief power in the government once more in the hands of his friends, he again took his part in the discussions which agitated the country.

In his retirement, he appears to have lost nothing of his wonted fire. He was animated by the same stern, uncompromising, and unscrupulous spirit as before ; and the crisis appeared to him to be highly favourable for the complete demolition of popery, and the permanent establishment of the Protestant faith. Henceforward we must regard him as the leader of the reformed church ; and upon certain conditions he declared himself ready to give his cordial assistance to the confederates. He stipulated that they should recognise the parliament held at Edinburgh in 1560, and its acts as laws of the realm. It will be recollect ed, that this was the famous parliament in which popery had been overthrown, and the reformed religion established ; and that, notwithstanding all the efforts of Elizabeth and the Protestants, Mary had never given her consent to its decrees. The confederates, who were mostly, if not all, Protestants, of course experienced no such scruples, but embraced the proposal at once, and entered into the strictest union with Knox and his party. Nor was this all. They agreed to restore the patrimony of the church, which had been seized and devoted to civil uses ; to intrust the education of youth in all colleges and public seminaries to the reformed clergy ; to put down idolatry (so they denominated the Roman Catholic faith) by force of arms, if necessary ; to watch over the education of the prince, committing him to some godly and grave governor ; and to punish to the uttermost the murderers of the king.¹ In return for

¹ Knox, History, p. 449. Spottiswood, p. 210. MS. letter, State-

this, Knox adopted the cause of the lords of the secret council (such was the title by which the confederacy against Mary and Bothwell was now known) with all the energy belonging to his character. From former experience, none knew better than this extraordinary man the strength of popular opinion, when once roused, and few understood better how to rouse it by that style of pulpit eloquence which he had adopted,—earnest, sententious, satirical, colloquial, often coarse, but always to the point, and always successful. There can be little doubt, I think, that the great secondary cause of the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland was the force of popular opinion, roused, directed, and kept in continual play, by the sermons and addresses of the clergy. Such an engine was not permitted in England by Elizabeth and her ministers: Knox regretted it, and repeatedly requested licence to preach at Berwick, but he was invariably refused.

An attempt was made at this time to bring over the Hamiltons and their associates to the confederates,¹ and letters were written in the name of the church to Argyle, Huntley, Herries, and others, requesting their presence at Edinburgh on the 20th July, to which day they had adjourned their Assembly. To enforce this, Knox, with three colleagues, Douglas, Row, and Craig, waited upon them, and urged the necessity of their attendance, that they might labour for the re-establishment of the policy and patrimony of the church. But the Hamiltons suspected the overtures; and the secret council, who dreaded lest delay should give strength to their enemies, determined to compel

paper Office, Drury to Cecil, B.C. Berwick, June 25, 1567. Also, MS. letter, same to the same, B.C. June 27, 1567.

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Drury to Cecil, B.C. Berwick, June 25, 1567.

the queen to abdicate the government in favour of the prince her son.

The known character of Mary, however, rendered this daring resolution a matter of no easy accomplishment. Her confinement in Lochleven had been accompanied with circumstances of great rigour; she was there placed under the charge of Lindsay and Ruthven, men familiar with blood, and of coarse and fierce manners. The lady of the castle, Margaret Erskine, daughter of Lord Erskine, had been mistress to the queen's father, James the Fifth, and was mother to the Earl of Moray. She had been afterwards married to Sir Robert Douglas; and their son, William Douglas, who was proprietor of the castle, had early joined the confederacy. She herself is said to have been a woman of a proud and imperious spirit, and was accustomed to boast, that she was James's lawful wife, and her son Moray, his legitimate issue, who had been supplanted by the queen.¹

Under such superintendents, Mary could not expect a lenient captivity; but her spirit was unbroken, though Villeroy, a gentleman sent to her by the king of France, was denied all access, and it became impossible for her to receive advices of the proceedings of the Hamiltons, from the strictness with which all communication was cut off.² She had sent, as we have seen, Robert Melvil on a mission to the English queen soon after her marriage. During his stay in England those sad calamities had occurred with which we are acquainted; and now that she was a prisoner, shut out from all friendly intercourse, and fed only with the deferred hopes that sicken the heart, she looked anxiously for his return.

¹ Keith, p. 403, note 6.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, 27th June, 1567. Also, ibid. same to same, June 20, 1567.

But this servant had, as we have seen, become the envoy of her enemies. During his stay in England, he had acted as the secret agent of the confederate lords, who had imprisoned her; he solicited money to support them in their enterprise; he received orders from them to supply himself out of this sum when it was advanced by Elizabeth; he was cautioned against declaring himself too openly, as something had come to the ears of the French ambassador:¹ he proposed to the English queen the project for Mary's "demitting the crown" in favour of her son, with which the lords who had imprisoned her, had made him acquainted; and, on his arrival in Edinburgh, his first meeting was neither with his own sovereign nor the friends who had combined for her delivery, but with the lords of the secret council. He assured them of the support of the English queen, in the "honourable enterprise," in which they had engaged; he informed them that Elizabeth had agreed to Mary's resignation of the crown, provided it came of her own consent; and he then, before visiting his mistress in her prison at Lochleven, addressed a letter to Cecil, from which, as it contains his own account of his negotiation, I think it right to give this extract: "It may please your honour," says he, "to be advertised, I came to this town [Edinburgh] upon the 29th of June, and have² imparted the queen's majesty's good disposition in the assisting and partaking with the lords to prosecute the murderers of the king, and to preserve the prince in the custody of the Earl of Mar. Whereof the said lords most humbly thank her highness. The whole particularities

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Melvil to Cecil, 1st July, 1567; also, MS. letter, Melvil to Cecil, June, 1567; and MS. letter, in cipher with the decipher affixed, David Robertson to Melvil, June 26, 1567; also, MS. letter, Sate-paper Office, Earls of Athole, Morton, and others, to Elizabeth, 26th June, 1567.

² In Orig. "has."

that I had your honour's advice in, according to the queen your sovereign's meaning, is not at this present resolved on, by reason the most part of noblemen are gone to their houses, to repose them and their friends, except the Earls of Morton and Athole, with my Lord Hume, my Lord Ledington, Sir James Balfour captain of the castle, who is daily in council with them, and Mr James Makgill and the justice-clerk. The cause of their going from this town is by some bragging of the Hamiltons, with the Earl of Huntley, minding to convene their forces and make their colour [pretence] for the delivery of the queen; albeit, it be credibly reported, that they fear the king's murder to be laid to some of their charges; I mean the Bishop of St Andrews: wherefore, it was thought most convenient that the noblemen and gentlemen should in the meantime have their friends in readiness.

" Before my coming, the lords did write divers instructions unto me, besides a letter written to the queen's majesty,¹ subscribed by them. The effect whereof was, that as they did understand by me of the good inclination [of] your mistress and council being addicted to help them in their most need, so, for their parts, their good will to do her majesty service, before all other, with time shall be declared. As for their dealing with France, they have used them so discreetly, as neither France may have any just cause to be offended, and the queen your sovereign be well pleased.

" The lords presently needs but money, for they have already listed divers men of war, and is taking up more. The Hamiltons is judged to be maintained by the queen's² substance, and countenanced by France

¹ Elizabeth.

² Mary's.

to have money, seeing France is in doubt to persuade our noblemen. Wherefore, sir, it is most needful, that with all expedition money may be procured of the queen your sovereign, and sent thither with Sir Nicholas Fragmarton,¹ or by some of the borders, for that necessity that they will be prest to, will be within eight or ten days, which I thought meet to advertise your honour of; and what order shall be taken for my going to the queen is not agreed upon, by reason the most part of lords are not present; and my Lord Ledington being greatly empesched with affairs, might not have leisure to concur at length, but is glad to understand of the care your honour has, that we should do all things by justice and moderation. And that the queen your sovereign may be content with your conference with me, he does well like of your advice in divers heads; always, there is matter enough probable² to proceed upon that matter we first agreed upon, and farther is thought expedient. Ye shall with diligence be advertised; and refers the rest to my Lord of Ledington's letter, who does repose himself upon the care he hopes your honour will continue in, for to set forward their honourable enterprise; and the lords, for their part, will accord with your ambassador to keep the prince; and to her highness' desire will put him in the custody of her majesty, if at any time hereafter they shall be minded to suffer him go in any other country. The whole novels³ here I refer to my Lord of Ledington's letter; and as I learn further your honour shall be advertised. * * * At Edinburgh, the 1st of July. R. Melvil."⁴

¹ Sir N. Throckmorton.

² Probable here used in the sense of *proveable*. ³ Novels; news.

⁴ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Robert Melvil to Cecil, Edinburgh, 1st July, 1567.

This letter sufficiently explains itself, and proves that Melvil, although nominally the envoy of Mary, was now acting for the confederates. It unveils, also, the real intentions of Elizabeth: it shows that her object in despatching her ambassador, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, was professedly to procure the queen's liberty, but really to encourage the confederates, to attach them to her service, to obtain possession of the prince if possible, to induce the captive queen to resign the crown, and to hold out to Moray, with whom she, Melvil, and the lords of the secret council, were now in treaty, the hope of returning to his country and becoming the chief person in the government.¹ It appears to me also, (but this is conjecture,) that the mysterious sentence² in which Melvil informs Cecil that Lethington liked his advice, and that at any rate they had proof enough to proceed on the matter first agreed upon, related to the scheme of compelling their sovereign to agree to their wishes by a threat of bringing her to a public trial for the murder of the king.

On the same day on which this letter was written (July 1st) Melvil repaired to Lochleven, and was admitted to an interview with Mary, in which he delivered to her the letter of the Queen of England. At this conference Lindsay, Ruthven, and Douglas, insisted on being present, according to the orders which they had received from the lords of the secret council: the queen was thus cut off from all private conference with her servant, and she complained bitterly of such rigour, but could obtain no redress. Eight days afterwards, however, Melvil was again sent by them to

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, R. Melvil to Cecil, July 8, 1567. Kerny in Fife.

² "He [Lethington] does well like of your advice in divers heads; always there is matter enough probable [proveable] to proceed upon that matter we first agreed upon, and farther is thought expedient."

Lochleven, and permitted to see his royal mistress alone. In this interview he endeavoured (according to his own declaration¹) to persuade Mary to renounce Bothwell, but this she peremptorily refused ; and her obduracy upon this point excited the utmost indignation in the lords and the people. Knox, now all powerful with the lower ranks, thundered out, as Throckmorton expressed it to Cecil, *cannon-hot* against her ; and so thoroughly convinced were his party, and some of the leaders, of her guilt, that it became generally reported she would be brought to a public trial. So much was this the case, that, early in July, Lord Herries held a meeting with Lord Scrope, in which, when the English warden attempted to detach him from Mary's interests, he declared, that if Morton and his faction would set his mistress at liberty, he was ready to assist them in prosecuting Darnley's murder, but if they intended to bring the queen openly to her trial for this crime, he would defend her, though forsaken by all the world.²

In the meantime, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Elizabeth's ambassador, left the English court on his mission to Scotland. We have seen that the English queen, in her message to Morton and his confederates, by Robert Melvil, had encouraged them in their enterprise, and promised them her support ; but her instructions to Throckmorton, although severely worded, were more favourable to the captive queen. He was directed, indeed, to express her grief and indignation that decided steps had not been taken for the punishment of the king's murderer, to point out the mortal reproach

¹ Robert Melvil's declaration, Hopetoun MSS. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Sir James Melvil to Drury, Edinburgh, 8th July, 1567.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Scrope to Cecil, B.C. Carlisle, 9th July, 1567.

she had incurred by her marriage, and to assure her, that at first she had resolved to give up all farther communication with one who seemed by her acts so reckless of her honour ; but he was instructed to add, that the late rebellious conduct of her nobles had softened these feelings. Whatever had been Mary's conduct, it did not (she said) belong to subjects to assume the sword, or to punish the faults of the prince ; and so much did she commiserate and resent her imprisonment, that she was prepared to compel her nobles to restore her to liberty. At the same time, she was ready to lend her countenance and assistance for the prosecution of the king's murder and the preservation of the young prince. In conclusion, Throckmorton was enjoined to declare to the Scottish queen the charges with which she was loaded by her subjects, and to hear her answers and defence.¹

On crossing the border, the ambassador was met by Lethington the secretary, at Coldingham, who conducted him to Fastcastle, a strong fortalice overhanging the German Ocean.² Here he was received by Hume the lord of the castle, with Sir James Melvil ; and in a conference held with the Scottish secretary, it was soon apparent that he had to deal with those who were as crafty, cautious, and diplomatic as himself or his mistress. On the same day he wrote to Cecil, and informed him that the Scottish lords dreaded Elizabeth's caprice. They assured themselves, he said, "that if they ran her fortune, she would leave them in the briars," and desert them after they had committed themselves. Already they complained that

¹ British Museum, Cotton. MSS. Caligula, C. i. f. 3, 6, 8. Instructions to Sir N. Throckmorton, 30th June, 1567, copy.

² Robertson's Appendix, No. xxii. Throckmorton to Cecil, July 12, 1567. Fastcastle is described by him as "very little and very strong : a place fitter to lodge prisoners than folks at liberty."

she had departed from her first promises to Robert Melvil, and had sent a cold answer to their last letter; and as for her proposal to set their sovereign at liberty, if sincere in this, it was plain (they said) that the Queen of England sought their ruin; for were Mary once free, it would be absurd to talk of the prosecution of the murder, or, indeed, of any other condition.

Touching their intended policy to France, a subject upon which Elizabeth was exceedingly jealous, Throckmorton found them resolved to hold, for the present, the same cautious course which they pursued to England, neither positively refusing nor accepting the overtures of the French king. These, indeed, as Lethington reported them to the English ambassador, were of an extraordinary description; and if Mary owed little gratitude to Elizabeth, she was certainly still less obliged to her royal relatives at that court, whose exertions at this moment were strenuously devoted to the setting up a party in Scotland composed of her enemies, the confederate lords. In accomplishing this, they were ready to sacrifice the captive queen. It was suggested that the government and the young prince should be managed by a council of the lords, acting, of course, under French influence; and as for the queen herself, De Croc the ambassador proposed to rid them of her altogether, and shut her up in a French convent.¹

It is probable that the Scottish secretary had not exaggerated these intentions of France, for we find, that at this very time the greatest offers were made by the French king to secure the services of the Earl of Moray, then at his court.² These splendid bribes

¹ Robertson's Appendix, No. xxii. Throckmorton to Cecil, Fast castle, 12th July, 1567.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Norris to

he steadily rejected ; but on the other hand he was so far from embracing the interests of Morton and his associates, that he despatched one of his servants, Nicholas Elphinston, on a mission to the Scottish queen; assuring her of his devotion to her service.

Elphinston arrived in London a few days after Throckmorton's departure for Scotland. He was there admitted to a secret interview with Elizabeth, which lasted for an hour, and his communication had the effect of rendering her more favourable to Mary, and more hostile to the confederate lords. There is a curious piece of secret history connected with the interview between this envoy of Moray and Elizabeth, which is to be found in a letter of Mr Heneage, a gentleman of the court, to Cecil. This person was in waiting in the antechamber of the palace, when Elizabeth, after dismissing Moray's messenger, called him hastily, and sent him to Cecil. He was directed by her to inform the prime minister, that Moray had despatched his servant with letters to the Queen of Scotland, expressive of his attachment, and offering his service ; that they were to be delivered to her own hands, and not to be seen by the confederates ; and that he had in charge also to remonstrate with them for their audacity in imprisoning their sovereign. But this was not all : the rest of the commission given by the English queen to Heneage, is still more interesting in furnishing us with an admission, from her own lips, of that insidious dealing which so often marked her policy. " Tell Cecil," said

Elizabeth, Poissy, 2d July, 1567. Same to Cecil, MS. letter, Poissy, 2d July, 1567. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, Norris to Cecil, Paris, 16th July, 1567. " * * Great is the travel and pain that hath been here taken to win the Earl of Moray, offering both the Order, and great augmentation of living ; which, as he hath sent me word, he hath refused, lest by taking gifts, he should be bound where he is now free."

she, “that he must instantly write a letter, in my name, to my sister, to which I will set my hand, for I cannot write it myself, as I have not used her well and faithfully in these broken matters that be past. The purport of it must be, to let her know that the Earl of Moray never spoke defamedly of her for the death of her husband; never plotted for the secret conveying of the prince to England; never confederated with the lords to depose her: on the contrary, now in my sister’s misery let her learn from me the truth, and that is, that she has not a more faithful and honourable servant in Scotland.”¹ At this date, therefore, (July 8th,) if we are to believe this evidence, and there seems no good reason to question it, Moray was no party to the schemes of the confederates. On the contrary, he had declared himself against them, and was resolved to support and defend the queen his sovereign.

But to return to Throckmorton. This ambassador proceeded from Fastcastle to the capital, accompanied by Lord Hume, and an escort of four hundred horse. The day after his arrival, (July 13th,) there was a solemn fast held by the reformed church, the leaders of which were decided enemies of the Scottish queen; and his first impressions gave him little hope, either that he would be permitted to visit the royal captive, or be able to do her much good.² Nor did the confederate lords seem in any haste to have a conference with him; and when he accidentally met their leader, Morton, he excused himself from entering upon business, as the day was devoted to sacred exercises.

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Mr T. Heneage to Cecil, from the court, 8th July, 1567.

² Throckmorton to the Queen, Edinburgh, 14th July, 1567, Robertson, Appendix, No. xxii.

Lethington, however, came to him in the evening ; and from the tone of his conversation, it was apparent to the ambassador, that they were determined he should not be allowed to see Mary. They had already, he said, refused the French ambassador, and in the present state of things, they did not choose to irritate France.

As to the probable fate of the unhappy prisoner, Throckmorton found all things looking gloomily. Her chief supporters, the party of the Hamiltons, were divided in their councils, and almost equally treacherous in their intentions with her more open enemies. Being next heirs to the crown, it was generally believed that they would have been glad to have got rid both of Mary and the prince ; and if we may credit Throckmorton, they only "made a show of the liberty of the queen, that they might induce these lords to destroy her, rather than they should recover her by violence out of their hands."¹ Argyle was tampering with the lords of the secret council ; Herries, though more attached to her service, was not to be trusted when his own interests came in the way ; the French king and the queen-mother were ready to desert her, if they could gain the confederates ; and, singular as the fact may appear to those who have given credit to the attacks of his opponents, her only true friend, at this moment, was the Earl of Moray. He had despatched Elphinston, as we have seen, to visit Mary and assure her of his services, and this envoy arrived in the capital much about the same time with Throckmorton. But when he requested to have access to the queen, and deliver his letters, he received a peremptory denial.

¹ Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 18th July, 1567. Also, same to same, July 14, 1567. Both letters in Robertson's Appendix, No. xxii. And same to same, June 19, 1567, Caligula, C. i. fol. 18.

It has been often asserted, and very commonly believed, that from the first rising of the lords against Mary and Bothwell, Moray was one of their party, in active correspondence with them ; yet how are we to reconcile this with his present attachment to Mary's interests, his rejection of the offers of France, and the jealousy with which he was regarded by the confederates. But of all the enemies of the miserable queen, the most bitter were the Presbyterian clergy and the people. In the midst of their austerity and devotional exercises, the ministers expressed themselves with deep indignation against her, and looked forward with anxious interest to their great ecclesiastical council, which was to be held in eight days, and in which they had determined that the whole matter connected with the murder and her imprisonment should be debated.

The more that Throckmorton investigated the state of parties during this interval, the more he became convinced of the hopelessness of his own interference, and the imminent peril of Mary. So far were the people from listening with any patience to the doctrines of passive obedience, which Elizabeth had instructed him to inculcate, that they took their stand on the very opposite ground—the responsibility of the prince, and the power of the nation to call their sovereign to account for any crimes she might have committed. “It is a public speech among all the people,” (so wrote the ambassador to Elizabeth,) “that their queen hath no more liberty nor privilege to commit murder nor adultery than any other private person, neither by God's laws, nor by the laws of the realm.”¹ These popular principles were now for the first time openly and powerfully preached to the com-

¹ Throckmorton to Elizabeth, July 18, 1567, Robertson, Appendix, No. xxii.

mons. Knox, Craig, and the other ministers of the reformed church, considered the pulpit and the press as the lawful vehicles of their political as well as their religious opinions; and the celebrated Buchanan, who had joined the confederates, enforced the same doctrines with uncommon vigour and ability. Their arguments were grounded on the examples of wicked princes in the Old Testament who were deposed and put to death for their idolatry, and on alleged but disputable precedents in their own history, of similar severity exercised by subjects against their sovereigns.¹ In consequence of all these efforts, the few friends who had at first ventured to defend the Scottish queen were silenced and intimidated; and the public mind became inflamed to such a state of madness and fury, that she began to think of saving her life by retiring to a nunnery in France, or living with the old Duchess of Guise.²

At this moment Robert Melvil was for the third time sent by the confederates to Lochleven, instructed to make a last effort to prevail upon his mistress to renounce Bothwell. By him Throckmorton found an opportunity to convey a letter, in which he strongly urged Mary to the same course.³ But the mission was completely unsuccessful: the queen, who believed herself to be with child, declared her firm resolution rather to die than desert her husband, and declare her child illegitimate. She requested Melvil, at the same time, to deliver a letter to the lords, which implored them to have consideration of her health, and to change

¹ Throckmorton to Elizabeth, July 18, 1567, Robertson, Appendix, No. xxii.

² State-paper Office, Throckmorton to the Queen, July 16, 1567. Printed by Laing, vol. ii. p. 122.

³ Robert Melvil's declaration, Hopetoun MSS. Throckmorton to the Queen, July 18, 1567, Robertson, Appendix, No. xxii.

the place of her imprisonment to Stirling, where she might have the comfort of seeing her son. She was willing, she said, to commit the government of the realm, either to the Earl of Moray alone, or to a council of the nobility; and proposed that, if they would not obey her as their queen, they should regard her with some favour as the mother of their prince, and the daughter of their king. To this interview between Mary and Melvil no one was admitted; and before he took his leave she produced a letter, requesting him to convey it to Bothwell. This he peremptorily refused, upon which she threw it angrily into the fire.¹

On his return to the capital, he found the animosity against the queen at its height, and the English ambassador in despair of being able to restrain it from some fatal excess. Many openly declared, that no power, either within or without the realm, should preserve her from that signal punishment which her notorious crimes deserved. Others, more moderate, proposed to restore her to the royal dignity, if she consented to divorce Bothwell; some advised that she should resign in favour of the prince, who might govern by a council, whilst she retired for life to France. This was Athole's scheme, and not disliked by Morton; but to the majority of the privy council it was unacceptable. They deemed it indispensable that Mary should be publicly arraigned and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, as guilty of the king's murder, whilst some went so far as to insist that she should not only be condemned and degraded, but put to death.²

When such was the state of public feeling, the

¹ Melvil's declaration, Hopetoun MSS.

² Caligula, C. i. fol. 18, MS. letter, Throckmorton to Elizabeth, July 19, 1567.

General Assembly of the church convened in Edinburgh.¹ The Protestant clergy had already entered into a strict coalition with Morton and the lords of the secret council, who now held the whole power of the government; and the proceedings of their ecclesiastical tribunal partook of the rigorous and uncompromising character of Knox and Buchanan, its leaders. It was argued, that the queen was guilty of crimes for which she ought to forfeit her life; and there seemed to be every probability that this dreadful result was about to take place, had it not been for the interference of Throckmorton, who, with the utmost earnestness, remonstrated against such an extremity.² After violent debates, a more moderate course was adopted. Mary had (as we have seen) already intimated her readiness to resign the government to the Earl of Moray. It was now resolved to follow up the idea; and for this purpose Lord Lindsay, who had left Lochleven to attend the General Assembly, was despatched thither in company with Robert Melvil. From this nobleman, one of the fiercest zealots of his party, Mary had every thing to dread: her passionate menace to him on the day she was taken prisoner at Carberry³ had not been forgotten, and he was now selected as a man whom she would hardly dare to resist. He carried with him three instruments, drawn up by the lords in their sovereign's name. By the first she was made to demit the government of the realm in favour of her son, and to give orders for his immediate coronation; by the second, she, in consequence of his tender infancy, constituted her "dear brother," the Earl of

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Robert Melvil to Elizabeth, Edinburgh, July 29, 1567.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Robert Melvil to Elizabeth, Edinburgh, 29th July, 1567. ³ *Supra*, p. 428.

Moray, regent of the realm; and by the third, she appointed the duke, with the Earls of Lennox, Argyre, Athole, Morton, Glencairn, and Mar, regents of the kingdom till the return of Moray from France, with power to continue in that high office, if he refused it.¹

Before Lindsay was admitted, Melvil had a private interview with the queen, and assured her that her refusal to sign the papers would endanger her life. Nor was this going too far. It is certain that, had she proved obstinate, the lords were resolved to bring her to a public trial; that they spoke with the utmost confidence of her conviction for the king's murder, and affirmed that they possessed proof of her guilt in her own handwriting.² These threats and assertions were in all probability communicated to his royal mistress by Melvil; and he insinuated, that she ought to be the less scrupulous, as any deed signed in captivity, and under fear of her life, was invalid. He brought a message to the same purpose from Athole and Lethington, and a letter from Throckmorton.

It was a trying moment for Mary; and for a short time she resisted every entreaty, declaring passionately that she would sooner renounce her life than her crown; but when Lindsay was admitted, his stern demeanour at once terrified her into compliance. He laid the instruments before her; and with eyes filled with tears, and a trembling hand, she took the pen and signed the papers, without even reading their contents.³ It was necessary, however, that they should pass the privy-seal; and here a new outrage was committed. The

¹ Anderson, vol. ii. pp. 208-220, inclusive.

² MS. letter, Throckmorton to Cecil, 25th July, 1567. *Caligula*, C. i. fol. 22.

³ Spottiswoode, p. 211.

keeper, Thomas Sinclair, remonstrated, and declared that, the queen being in ward, her resignation was ineffectual ; Lindsay attacked his house, tore the seal from his hands, and compelled him by threats and violence to affix it to the resignation.¹

Having been so far successful, the lords hurried on the consummation of their plans, and resolved without delay to crown the prince, requesting Throckmorton's presence at the ceremony, and despatching Sir James Melvil to invite the Hamiltons. The English ambassador, however, gave a peremptory refusal. Their whole proceedings, he said, had been contrary to the advice, and in contempt of the remonstrances of his mistress.² The Hamiltons also declined ; not, as they commissioned Melvil to inform the confederate lords, on the ground of their being enemies—so far from this they thanked them for their gentle message—but simply because, from the first, they had been made no party to their intentions. It was their wish, also, they said, to present a protest, that this coronation should not be prejudicial to the title of the Duke of Chastelherault as next heir to the crown ; and their request having been granted, they professed to offer no opposition.³

It was determined that the coronation should be held in the High Church at Stirling, and thither the confederate lords repaired ; but on their arrival a collision took place between the new and old opinions. The clergy, of whom Knox was the great leader, insisted that the king should not be anointed, but simply crowned, anointing being a Jewish rite, and

¹ We owe the discovery of this fact to Mr Riddell, in a paper published in "Blackwood's Magazine," for October, 1817.

² Throckmorton to Elizabeth, Edinburgh, 26th July, 1567. Stevenson's Selections, illustrating the reign of Mary queen of Scotland, p. 251. The original is in the State-paper Office.

³ Ibid. 31st July, 1567. Stevenson's Selections, p. 258.

abrogated by the gospel dispensation. Against this notion it was argued, that the custom was not a superstitious relic, but an ancient solemnity recognised by the general usage of Christendom; and after a bitter contest, the objection was overruled, and the ceremonial proceeded, every endeavour having been made on the part of the lords to make it as solemn and magnificent as possible. In the procession, Athole bore the crown, Morton the sceptre, and Glencairn the sword, whilst Mar, his governor, carried the infant prince in his arms into the church. The deeds of resignation by the queen were read; and Lindsay and Ruthven did not scruple to attest upon oath that which they knew to be false, that Mary's demission was her own free act. Knox then preached the sermon; the crown was placed on the king's head by the Bishop of Orkney; Morton, laying his hand on the gospels, took the oaths on behalf of his sovereign, that he should maintain the reformed religion and extirpate heresy; the lords swore allegiance, placing their hands on his head; the burgesses followed; and, in conclusion, the Earl of Mar lifted the monarch from the throne and carried him back to his nursery in the castle.¹ At night, in the capital, the blaze of bonfires, and universal mirth and dancing, attested the joy of the people.²

A more extraordinary revolution was perhaps never completed without bloodshed, and apparently with such disproportionate means. A small section of the nobles and the gentry, unsupported by foreign aid, with a handful of soldiers,³ at no time exceeding four hundred

¹ Throckmorton to Elizabeth, Edinburgh, 31st July, 1567, Stevenson, p. 257. Calderwood, MS. History, p. 684, Ayscough, 4735.

² Throckmorton to Elizabeth, July 31, 1567.

³ By "soldiers," is here meant regular *waged* troops.

men, opposed by the highest of the aristocracy, and threatened with the hostility of England and France, were seen to rise with appalling suddenness and strength: they dispel their enemies; they imprison their sovereign; they hesitate whether she shall not be openly arraigned and executed; they compel her to resign her regal authority; and they now, finally, place the crown on the head of her son, an infant of a year old, and possess themselves of the whole power of the government. If we look for the cause of this extraordinary success, it is to be traced chiefly, if not altogether, to the unhappy infatuation and imprudence of the queen. It was this that separated her friends, strengthened the hands of her enemies, gave ample field for the worst suspicions, and alienated from her the hearts and sympathy of the people. But to return.

The first intelligence of these events was received with the utmost indignation by Elizabeth. She had already instructed Throckmorton to remonstrate with the lords; she had warned him to beware of giving his presence or countenance to the coronation: she now interdicted him from holding any farther intercourse, as her ambassador, with men who had treated her with such courtesy and contempt, and declared, "that she would make herself a party against them to the revenge of their sovereign, and an example to all posterity."¹

When her letters were delivered, the principal leaders, Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Hume, and Lethington, had come to Edinburgh, to await the arrival of Moray, to whom they had despatched an envoy, informing him of his having been chosen regent. Throck-

¹ Original draft, State-paper Office, Instructions to Sir N. Throckmorton, 27th July, 1567. It is corrected in Cecil's hand.

morton, in obedience to his mistress's commands, kept aloof; but Tullibardine the comptroller, and brother-in-law to the Earl of Mar, one of the *interim* regents, volunteered a visit; and, in the course of conversation on the late events, unveiled a scene of treachery upon the part of the Hamiltons, who had hitherto supported the queen, which filled him with horror. The two great leaders of this party were the Archbishop of St Andrews and the Abbot of Kilwinning; and when the English ambassador remonstrated upon the violence of the recent proceedings, and threatened the lords of the secret council with hostility upon the part of Elizabeth, he was solemnly assured that a perseverance in such a course, was the certain way to shorten Mary's life. "Within the last forty-eight hours," said the comptroller, "the Archbishop of St Andrews, on the part of the Hamiltons, has proposed to us to put the queen to death. They have recommended this course as the only certain method of reconciling all parties; and on our consenting to adopt it, they are ready to join us to a man, and to bring Argyle and Huntley along with them."

Throckmorton at first expressed his utter disbelief that any men, who had hitherto borne a fair character, could be guilty of such atrocious and cold-blooded treachery. He argued also, on the point of expediency, that more profit might be made of the queen's life than of her death. She might be divorced from Bothwell and afterwards marry a son of the duke's, or a brother of Argyle's. To this, Tullibardine's answer was remarkable. "My lord ambassador," said he, "these matters you speak of have been in question amongst them, but now they see not so good an *outgait*¹ by

¹ Outgait; outlet.

any of those devices as by the queen's death. For she being taken away, they account but the little king betwixt them and home,¹ who may die. They love not the queen, and they know she hath no great fancy to any of them : and they fear her the more, because she is young and may have many children, which is the thing they would be rid of.”² Throckmorton, however, persevered in his incredulity, and that same evening the secretary Lethington held a secret conference with him, in which he assured him that Tullibardine had stated nothing but the truth. I think it right, as these are new facts in this part of our history, involving a charge of unwonted perfidy even in this age, to give the particulars of this extraordinary conversation in the words of the ambassador to Elizabeth. “The same day,” said he, (he is describing the events of the 7th of August,) “the Lord of Lethington came to visit me on behalf of all the lords. He demanded of me when I heard from your majesty, and what was the matter why I had sent to Stirling for audience. * * I answered, to let the lords and him understand what your majesty did think of their rash proceedings, finding the matter very strange in this hasty sort to proceed with a queen, their sovereign, being a prince anointed, not having imparted their intent to your majesty. * *

“For answer, the Laird of Lethington said, ‘My lord ambassador, these lords did think their cause could suffer no delays ; and as for imparting their purposes to the queen's majesty your sovereign, they doubted that neither she would allow that which was

¹ The Hamiltons were nearest heirs to the crown, failing Mary and her son. Home here means the succession to the throne.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Throckmorton to Elizabeth, Edinburgh, 9th August, 1567.

meet for them to do, neither could take any of their doings in good part. And where you have charged us with deprivation of the queen from her royal estate, it doth appear by such instruments as I sent you from Stirling, that we have not denuded the queen of her regality, but she hath voluntarily relinquished the same to her son.' I asked him," continued Throckmorton, "what free will there might be, or uncompulsory consent, for a prisoner, and such a one as every day looked for to lose her life? 'Yea,' said he, 'it is you that seek to bring it to pass, what show soever the queen your mistress, or you, do make to save her life, or set her at liberty. For the Hamiltons and you concur together; you have nothing in your mouths but liberty, and nothing less in your hearts. My lord ambassador, (he continued,) I have heard what you have said unto me; I assure you, if you should use this speech unto them, which you do unto me, all the world could not save the queen's life three days to an end; and as the case now standeth, it will be much ado to save her life.'

"I said, 'My Lord of Lethington, if you remember, I told you, at my first coming hither, when I understood you minded the coronation of her son, that when you had touched her dignity, you would touch her life shortly after.' * * * 'Well, my Lord,' said he, 'I trust you do not take me to be one that doth thirst my sovereign's blood, or that would stain my conscience with the shedding of the same? You know how I have proceeded with you since your coming hither. I have given you the best advice I could to prevent extremity; and either the queen your sovereign will not be advised, or you do forbear to advise her. I say unto you, as I am a Christian man, if we which have dealt in this action would consent to take the queen's life from

her, all the lords which hold out and lie aloof from us, would come and conjoin with us within these two days. This morning the Bishop of St Andrews and the Abbot of Kilwinning have sent a gentleman unto us for that purpose. And likewise the Earl of Huntley hath sent Duncan Forbes, within this hour, to conclude with us upon the same ground : and, to be plain with you, there be very few amongst ourselves which be of any other opinion.'"

Throckmorton then began to use persuasions to dissuade them from such a fearful extremity. Upon which Lethington assured him, that, as far as he himself was concerned, there needed no argument ; but he added, emphatically; "How can you satisfy men that the queen shall not become a dangerous party against them in case she live and come to liberty ?" I said, 'Divorce her from Bothwell.' He said, 'We cannot bring it to pass ; she will in no wise hear of the matter.' The conversation was then broken off by Sir James Balfour coming in to carry Lethington to the council, who were waiting for him.¹

It is clear, then, that at this moment the Hamiltons, instead of being friends to the unhappy queen, as they are represented in our popular historians, were acting towards her with treachery and cruelty ; they were ready to sacrifice her to their own dreams of ambition,² and the life of Mary was in the most imminent peril.³ The remonstrances and arguments of Throckmorton,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Throckmorton to Elizabeth, 9th Aug. 1567.

² Ibid. Throckmorton to Leicester, Edinburgh, 9th August, 1567.

³ Keith, p. 436, has fallen into the error of representing the band or agreement of the party of the Hamiltons at Dunbarton, as having been entered into about the 29th July, instead of the 29th June, which is its true date, as seen on the original instrument in the State-paper Office. In Mr Dawson Turner's volume of MS. Scottish letters, there is a copy of the same deed, with the correct date, 29th June.

however, so far prevailed, that it was agreed the fatal blow should be suspended till the arrival of the Earl of Moray.

To this remarkable man, on whose movements so much depended, all eyes were now turned, and his future conduct became the subject of much discussion. He had been elected regent. Would he accept this high office, which, considering the divided state of parties, brought with it so many difficulties? What were his sentiments as to the extraordinary events which had lately taken place?—the deposition and captivity of his sovereign, the coronation of the prince, the remonstrances of England, the efforts of France; above all, the guilt and punishment of the queen, now so strongly urged by that party of the reformed church with whom he had hitherto acted? All this was field for fearful conjecture to some, for anxious speculation to all; and Moray's was a character not easily fathomed, which often concealed purposes of great weight and determination under a blunt and open manner. He had now been absent from Scotland for nearly four months; and it is certain that, when Morton and the lords of the secret council first planned that revolution, (14th May,) which ended so fatally to Mary, they had secretly communicated with him. The exact nature of that communication we know not, but it was reported that he approved of their designs; and a month later, after the imprisonment of the queen, they again entered into correspondence with him; once more, about a fortnight later; and once again, after the resignation of the queen, this correspondence was renewed. These facts are undoubtedly calculated to excite suspicion; and we are not to be surprised if, in the heat of the controversy which has agitated this portion of our history, it has been argued from them that Moray not

only approved of, but directed all the plans of the conspirators. But the inquirer after truth dares not advance so rapidly. All that is proved amounts to the fact, that the lords of the confederacy against Mary, from the first, were anxious to gain him. Indeed, his election to the regency showed how far they were ready to go to secure him: but of his answers to their letters we know nothing. It is also worthy of remark, that on the only occasion when we can detect a message sent to them by Moray, it was hostile to his reputed friends. Elphinston, whom we have seen deputed by him to communicate with his imprisoned mistress and her captors, brought an assurance of such comfort and loyalty to Mary, and so severe a remonstrance to the lords, that they interdicted him from seeing the queen until they had made up their minds to depose her or to put her to death. Such a message could not have proceeded from associates.

On being informed of his election to the regency, Moray prepared to leave France; and his intentions at this moment formed an object of the deepest interest to the court of England, and the Tuilleries. Elizabeth was naturally anxious to preserve the influence she had hitherto exerted in the affairs of Scotland: she considered her hold over the measures of that country as an essential part of the great system for the support of Protestantism in Europe. At the same time, however, she was highly incensed at the lords of the secret council for their deposition of their sovereign: their conduct, in her opinion, was insulting to the majesty of the crown, and destructive of all principles of good government; and as she had determined to exert herself to procure the liberty of the captive queen, she was anxious to secure Moray

in the same service. Such were the feelings of Elizabeth.

The court of France, on the other hand, was equally anxious to preserve, or rather to recover, the influence it once held over Scotland; and at first the king declared that he would strain every effort to have Mary and the prince brought into his kingdom; but this idea was soon abandoned. The Scottish queen had never been a favourite with Catherine of Medicis; and provided they gained the confederate lords, in whose hands at this moment was the whole power of the government, and enlisted Moray in their interest, the French soon came to care little whether the queen remained a captive or was set at liberty. High bribes were offered him before his departure; and when he resisted these entreaties, and it began to be rumoured that he leant to the side of England, every impediment was thrown in the way of his return.¹ But such difficulties were overcome by his prudence and firmness. Without binding himself to France in any specific agreement, he assured the king of his desire to use every exertion for the deliverance of his sovereign; and left the court with Monsieur de Lignerolles, who was ordered to accompany him. Of this person the avowed object was to carry a message from the French king to the lords of the secret council; but his real errand was to watch the proceedings of the regent-elect, and hurry him on to Scotland, without giving him time to communicate with Elizabeth.²

At this moment, when on the eve of leaving France,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Norris to Cecil, Poissy, 2d July, 1567, French Correspondence. MS. letter, original, State-paper Office, Norris to Cecil, July 16, 1567, French Correspondence. Also, Norris to Elizabeth, July 23, 1567. Stevenson's Selections, p. 243.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, French Correspondence, Norris to Cecil, Paris, July 16, 1567.

Moray was informed, probably by Elphinston, his own servant, of the alleged proofs of Mary's guilt, which had been discovered by her enemies in Scotland; his informant stating, that he had seen and read a letter of the Scottish queen to Bothwell, which proved that she was privy to her husband's murder.¹ Hitherto the accusations against his sovereign had been vague and unsupported by proof; but if this were true, and if she still obstinately refused to renounce Bothwell, it appeared clear to him that her immediate restoration to liberty was impossible. At the same time, this intelligence necessarily worked a change in Moray's feelings more favourable to the confederate lords, and more severe towards his sovereign; so that, on his arrival at the English court, his interview with the queen was angry and unsatisfactory: Elizabeth expressed herself determined to restore the imprisoned queen, and to punish the audacious subjects who had dethroned her. Against this dictatorial tone, Moray's spirit rose; and the queen, who expected implicit obedience, upbraided him with such severity, that she shook his affection towards England, a result much deplored by Bedford and Throckmorton. These able persons, and her chief minister Cecil, who were intimately acquainted with the state of the two parties, had earnestly enforced on the queen the necessity of leaving Mary to her fate, and encouraging the lords who had deposed her: they considered her cause to be desperate; and they believed such a course to be the only likely way to prevent these men from throwing themselves into the arms of the French king, who

¹ Gonzalez Apuntamientos, p. 323. From a letter of Norris to Cecil, MS. State-paper Office, 23d July, 1567, French Correspondence, it appears that Moray left the French court at that time. Also, Throckmorton to Cecil, August 2, 1567. Stevenson's Selections, p. 263.

had made them flattering advances, and was ready to desert the Scottish queen. It was to the honour of Elizabeth that she repudiated this advice, refused to abandon the cause of the captive princess, and perceiving the change in Moray's mind, dismissed him with no kindly feeling.¹

On the 8th of August he reached Berwick, accompanied by De Lignerolles. Here he was the guest of Bedford, his ancient friend and associate; and was met by two envoys from the lords of the confederacy, Sir James Makgill lord clerk-register, and the well-known Sir James Melvil: the first was the representative of that section who were most determined against the queen; the other was deputed by that more moderate class who wished to spare her life, and contemplated the possibility of her restitution. Both of these were fully able to inform him of the state of parties; and Makgill, who had been a principal actor in the deposition of his sovereign, and knew all that could be urged against her, explained to him their whole proceedings, and urged the absolute necessity of his accepting the regency. Moray, however, refused to commit himself; and, pursuing his journey, was met at the Bound Rode, the line which separates the two countries, by a troop of four hundred noblemen and gentlemen who had assembled to honour his arrival. From thence he rode to Whittingham.

It was only a year and a half before, that in this fatal house the conference had been held between Lethington, Bothwell, and Morton, in which the king's murder was determined.² Bothwell was now a fugitive and an outlaw; but his associates in guilt, the same

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Bedford to Cecil, 10th August, 1567. Also, B.C. Bedford to Cecil, 13th August, 1567. Also, MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Bedford to Cecil, 1st August, 1567.

² *Supra*, p. 377.

Lethington and Morton, now received Moray at Whittingham, and cordially sympathized with him, when he expressed his horror for the crime, and his resolution to avenge it.

After a night's rest, the regent-elect proceeded to the capital, which he entered next day, surrounded by the nobility, and amid the acclamations of the citizens. Here for two days he employed himself unremittingly in examining the state of the two factions, holding consultations with his friends, and acquiring the best information as to the difficulties he might have to encounter in accepting the high office which was offered him. He had already held an interview with Throckmorton the English ambassador, who met him for this purpose a few miles from Edinburgh; and to this able judge, who had no interest to blind him, Moray appeared to be acting with sincerity and honour. He was already aware of the general nature of De Lignerolles' message to the lords of the confederacy; and in the secret consultations which he held with these persons, the whole history of their proceedings must have been laid before him. From them he now learnt the full extent of Mary's infatuation and alleged guilt; the proofs and letters which, as they asserted, convicted her of participation in her husband's murder, were now, no doubt, imparted to him; and he was made aware of the stern determination which many of them had embraced, of bringing her to a public trial, and, if convicted, putting her to death. As to the difficulties of his situation, the faction of the Hamiltons and the hostility of Elizabeth were the principal obstacles in his way; but the first were divided in their counsels, and the English queen would soon, he trusted, be induced by Cecil to remove her opposition. On the whole, he felt almost resolved

to accept the regency ; but one point made him still hesitate. The demission of the crown, the deeds which nominated himself, and sanctioned the coronation of the prince, were said to have been extorted from Mary. If true, this would vitiate his title to the office, and he requested permission to see the queen in Lochleven, before he gave his final answer. This demand startled the lords, and some thought it would be injudicious to grant it. To Throckmorton, the English ambassador, he had expressed himself with great commisera-
tion towards the captive princess, and they dreaded the consequences of his pity or sympathy.

At last, however, they consented ; and on the 15th of August, Moray, in company with Morton, Athole, and Lord Lindsay, visited the queen in her prison. It was a remarkable and affecting interview. Mary received them with tears, and passionately complained of her wrongs : then taking Moray aside, before supper, she eagerly questioned him as to the intentions of the lords, and in vain endeavoured to fathom his own. Contrary to his usual open and frank demeanour, he was gloomy, silent, and reserved. When the bitter meal had past, she again spoke to him in private ; and, torn by fear and suspense, pathetically described her sufferings. He was her brother, she said, her only friend: he must know her fate, for he was all-powerful with her enemies ; would he now withhold his counsel and assistance in this extremity of her sorrow ? What was she to look for ? She knew some thirsted for her blood. In the end, she implored him to keep her no longer in doubt, but to speak out ; and, even were it to criminate her, to use all freedom and plainness.¹

Thus urged, Moray, without mitigation or disguise, laid before her the whole history of her misgovern-

¹ Throckmorton to the queen, August 20, 1567. Keith, p. 444.

ment; using a severity of language, and earnestness of rebuke, more suited (to use a phrase of Throckmorton's) to a ghostly confessor, than a counsellor: her ill-advised marriage with Darnley, her hasty love, her sudden estrangement, the dark scene of his murder, the manifest guilt of Bothwell, his pretended trial, his unjust acquittal, her infatuated passion, her shameless marriage, her obstinate adherence to the murderer, the hatred of her subjects, her capture, her imprisonment, the allegations of the lords that they could convict her by her own letters of being accessory to the murder, their determination to bring her to a public trial, and to put her to an ignominious death; all these points were insisted on, with a severity and plainness to which the queen had seldom been accustomed, and the dreadful picture plunged the unhappy sufferer into an agony of despair. Throughout the dismal recital, she interrupted him by extenuations, apologies, confessions, and sometimes by denials. The conversation had been prolonged till past midnight; and Mary, weeping and clinging to the hope of life, again and again implored her brother's protection: but Moray was unmoved, or, at least, he judged it best to seem so, and retired to his chamber, bidding her seek her chief refuge in the mercy of God.¹

Next morning at an early hour, she sent for him, and perceiving the impression he had made, he assumed a milder mood, threw in some words of consolation, and assured her that, whatever might be the conduct of others, to save her life he was ready to sacrifice his own; but, unfortunately, the decision lay not with him alone, but with the lords, the church, and the people. Much also depended on herself: if she attempted an escape, intrigued to bring in the French or

¹ *Ibid. &c supra.*

the English, and thus disturbed the quiet government of her son, or continued in her inordinate affection to Bothwell, she need not expect to live : if she deplored her past sins, showed an abhorrence for the murder of her husband, and repented her former life with Bothwell, then might he hold out great hope that those in whose power she now lay would spare her life. As to her liberty, he said, in conclusion, that was at present out of the question. He had, as yet, only a single voice in the state, like other nobles ; it was therefore not in his power to procure it, nor would it be for her interest at this moment to desire it. It was Mary's weakness (in the present case we can hardly call it such) to be hurried away by impulses. She had passed the night under the dreadful conviction that her fate was decided, that she had but a short time to live. She now discerned a gleam of hope, and, starting from her seat, took Moray in her arms, and urged him to accept the regency, as the best and safest course for herself, her son : and her kingdom. He declined it : she again pressed it on him ; he gave his reasons against undertaking so arduous a task. She replied, and insisted, that the service of his sovereign and his country ought to outweigh every selfish motive. He at last assented : the queen then suggested that his first efforts should be directed to get all the forts into his hands, and requested him to take her jewels, and other articles of value, into his custody, as her only way of preserving them. On taking leave, she embraced and kissed him, with tears, and sent by him her blessing to her son. Moray then turned to Lindsay, Ruthven, and Lochleven, and recommending them to treat their royal mistress with all gentleness, left the castle.¹

¹ Throckmorton to the Queen, Aug. 20, 1567. British Museum, Caligula, C. i. fol. xxviii. Printed by Keith, p. 444.

Having thus effected his purpose, with much address and some little duplicity, Moray and his companions repaired to Stirling to visit the prince. Here they remained until the evening of the 19th of August, when they returned to the capital; and, on the 22d, he was solemnly declared regent. The ceremony of his inauguration was held in the council-chamber within the Tolbooth, where, in presence of the lords of the secret council, the nobility, spirituality, and commissioners of burghs, the instruments granted by the queen were publicly read. After this, the earl delivered an oration, in which he alluded to his own unfitness for so high an office, accepted the charge, and took the oath with his hand upon the gospels. He swore that, to the utmost of his power, he would serve God, according to his holy Word revealed in the New and Old Testament; that he would maintain the true religion as it was then received within that realm; that he would govern the people according to the ancient and loveable laws of the kingdom; procure peace, repress all wrong, maintain justice and equity, and root out from the realm all heretics and enemies to the true Church of God.¹ He was then proclaimed, amid universal acclamations, at the Cross of Edinburgh, and throughout all the counties and burghs of the kingdom. Information of this event was instantly sent to the Earl of Bedford at Berwick, who next day communicated it to Cecil.²

¹ Anderson's Collections, vol. ii. pp. 252, 253.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Bedford to Cecil, Aug. 23, 1567, Berwick. Also, Throckmorton to Cecil, August 23, 1567. Stevenson's Selections, p. 289.



PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

FROM

MANUSCRIPTS;

CHIEFLY IN

HER MAJESTY'S STATE-PAPER OFFICE,

HITHERTO UNPRINTED.



PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

No. I.

Power and License of the Nobles in Scotland, page 25.

In England, during the reigns of Henry the Eighth, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, the power of the sovereign over the nobles, and the influence of the wishes of the crown, was infinitely greater than in Scotland, during the same period. In Scotland, the nobles lived in what Sir Ralph Sadler denominates, in his despatches, "a beastly liberty." They reasoned and acted for themselves; they looked to the course which they thought promised best for the country, or for their own interest; and the idea of following this, in opposition to the commands of the crown, was familiar to them; nay, not only this, but they often contemplated the idea of compelling the sovereign to follow their wishes. The different feelings of the nobles in the two countries are strongly marked in the following letter of Mr Thomas Martyn to Mary queen of England, dated at Carlisle, 11th June, 1557.¹

After alluding to their conferences on the borders, he goes on to state a conversation between the Earls of Westmoreland and Cassillis, in these terms:—"My Lord of W. sayeth to th' Erle of Cassillis in this wise: 'My Lord, I think it but folly for us to treat *now* together, we having broken with France, and ye being French for your lives.'—"Nay, by the messe,' quoth the Earl of Cassillis, 'I am no more French than you are a Spaniard.' 'Marry,' quoth my Lord of Westmoreland, 'as long as God shall preserve my master and mistress together, I am, and shall be a Spaniard, to the utmost of my power.'—"By God,' quoth the Earl of Cassillis, 'so shall not I be French: and I told ye once, in my lord your father's house, in King Henry the Eighth his time, that we would die, every mother's son of us, rather than be sub-

¹ MS. State-paper Office.

jects until England : even the like will ye find us to keep with France ; and I may tell you, there are seven hundred Gascons arrived at Dum-bryton, more than we will be known to you of, which were sent to serve in the borders here ; but we would not let them pass the river, and they, being allowed but three pence a-day, have so scattered abroad, that three hundred of them be licked up by the way ; sic [such] is the favour that our men beareth unto the Frenchmen here.' My Lord of Durham telleth me that the Bishop of Orkney ministered talk unto him to this effect, wishing in any wise restitution to be made of both parties equally, whereby the amity might be preserved betwixt us, notwithstanding the French. Mr Makgill told Mr Henmar there was no cause why they should break with us, though we broke with France, for the emperor's wars with the French impeacheth not our legal amity with the emperor. Likewise Mr Carnegy gave me his faith as a Christian man, and honour of a Scottish knight, that his mistress meant the like : marry, for saving his oath, he added at the end, 'as far as we yet ken.'

No. II.

Coalition between the Lord James and the Queen-dowager, p. 25.

Some new particulars regarding this coalition mentioned in the text, may be gathered from a letter of Lord Wharton to the lords of the council.¹ It gives an account of a secret meeting which he had with William Kirkaldy of Grange.

" He (says Lord Wharton, alluding to Kirkaldy) saith, that the Prior of St Andrews, who is accounted the wisest of the late king's base sons, and one of the council of Scotland, the Earl of Glencairn, and the Bishop of Caithness, did agree to write the letters in the pacquet ; and that the dowager is of council, and consenting therewith ; and that she wrote her letters to Mr D'Osell, to cause Kirkaldy make devise to send the letters to me, that they might pass in haste ; and that the dowager's letter did meet D'Osell beside Dunbar, towards Edinburgh, the 13th of this month: D'Osell returned [sent back] Kirkaldy, upon the sight of the dowager's letter, with the pacquet forthwith, who saith to me, it is the queen and D'Osell's device, and D'Osell very earnest therewith, with many words that he hath given to Kirkaldy of the great displeasure that the queen and D'Osell beareth, especially against the Duke Chastelherault and the Earl of Huntley, and against others, whom D'Osell nameth the feeble and false noblemen of Scotland.

¹ MS. State-paper Office, 14th Nov. 1557.

Amongst others, he said, when their army retired, and their ordnance was to be carried on the water, D'Osell sent word to the Duke that he would see the ordnance returned over the water again, and that it might be put in safety. The messengers said to the Duke that D'Osell was angry with their retire, and breach of their promise, and also not regarding the safety of their ordnance. The Duke's answer was, 'Let Monsieur D'Osell gang by his mind an he will ; for as we, the noblemen of Scotland, have determined and written to the queen, so will we do, and let him look to his own charge : ' and so was D'Osell left. Upon which words, and their manner of dealing, D'Osell will seek their displeasure by all the ways and means he can, and so will the dowager do also, as Kirkaldy saith.

" In talk with him, I said it was a great matter to enterprise to bring into that realm my Lady Margaret Lennox, and my Lord her husband ; that it required power of noblemen, with others, and houses of strength. He said, the coming of my lady to the dowager, with their friends there, would order that matter ; and said, they might first have the castle of Tantallon, which is in the keeping of the Laird of Craigmillar, and at the dowager's order. He speaketh liberally that they would have many friends, and also have on their side the authority that now is. This matter, as I think in my poor opinion, may be wrought for my Lady Margaret and my Lord of Lennox, and to continue the displeasure now standing amongst the greatest of that realm."

Kirkaldy goes on to propose a truce, as introductory to a peace ; Wharton answered, the Scots only pretended an anxiety for a truce when it suited themselves, and broke it when they pleased ; but should it be entertained, whom would he propose to send ? Kirkaldy said, the Lord Seton, Captain Sarlabarosse, who had been one before, the Laird of Craigmillar, and the young Laird of Lethington, or two of them. These are the dowager's, and great with her. He said Scotland would agree to an abstinence for twenty days or for two months, but they must have a license for an especial man to pass through England, and communicate with the French king. Wharton asked the news. He said, on Sunday last, 7th November, arrived a ship at Leith, with letters and money from the French king. He had seen a letter from the French king to D'Osell, in which it was said he should have all his desires of men and money. That four ensigns, twelve hundred foot, and two hundred horse, were despatched to come into Scotland by the West Seas, and daily looked for.

It is not unimportant to notice (on account of the light it throws on the character of the Lord James, afterwards the Regent Moray) that we here find him, Kirkaldy of Grange, Glencairn, and the Bishop

of Caithness, acting with the queen-dowager against Huntley, Chastelherault, and Argyle. We find them receiving money from the French king, and stipulating for the presence of a French army in Scotland. Kirkaldy has generally been represented as a mirror of chivalry : consistency certainly was not his forte. In a letter of Wotton, (*supra*, vol. iv. p. 488,) dated 1st March, 1556-7, he is determined on putting down all French influence in Scotland ; here we find him, nine months after, inviting a French army into that country, and subsequently, in 1559, he returned to his first opinion. (*Supra*, p. 69.)

No. III.

Letters and Papers of Knox.

Not a few original letters of Knox are preserved in the State-paper Office, besides various public papers in his handwriting, and evidently his composition. Of these, some appear in his History, but often very incorrectly printed, many words being altered, and parts entirely omitted. Others are to be found in the MS. Calderwood, in the British Museum. The letter quoted in the text, p. 76, and addressed to Percy, dated 1st July, 1559, which has not been printed, commences thus :—

“ The mighty comfort of the Holy Ghost for salutation. Right honourable, having the opportunity of this bearer unsuspect, I thought good to require of you such friendship, as that, from time to time, conference and knowledge might be betwixt us ; I mean not myself and you, but betwixt the faithful of both these realms, to the end that inconveniences pretended against both may, by God’s grace and mighty power, be avoided. Your faithful friend, Mr Kirkaldy, hath reported to me your gentle behaviour and faithful fidelity in all things lawful, honest, and godly. Continue this, and God by you shall work more than now appeareth.” Then follows the sentence quoted in this vol. p. 76, after which he concludes in these words : “ but all this had I rather communicate face to face, than commit to paper and ink. This other letter I have direct to Mr Secretary, which, if your honour will cause to be delivered, I suppose you shall not offend him. Other things I have, which now I cannot write for continual trouble hanging on my wicked carcass, by reason of this tumult raised against Christ Jesus in his [infancy.] I pray you, seek to know the mind of the queen, and of the council, touching our support if we be pursued by an army of Frenchmen ; and let me be assured by advertisement reasonably. And thus, committing you to the protection of the Omnipotent, I most heartily desire you to approve my love — enterprise —

and enterprise not altogether without deliberation, as the troubles of these times do suffer. Yours to command in godliness,

“ JOHN KNOX.”

“ From Edinburgh, the 1st of July, 1559.”

Knox's letter to Cecil, dated 12th July, 1559, is preserved in the State-paper Office in the original. It enclosed his celebrated apology to Elizabeth, and has been printed incorrectly, and in a garbled state, in his History, p. 224. The postscript of the same letter, which has not been printed, is as follows :—

“ After the scribbling of these former lines, came Mr Whitlaw, of whom, after conference, I understood the match in which I have laboured ever since the death of King Edward, now to be opened unto you : God grant you and others wisdom with humility. Immediately after Mr Whitlaw, came a servant from Sir Harry Percy to Mr Kirkaldy, who, departing from us at Edinburgh to speak the said Sir Harry, brought news, to the hearts of all joyful, whensoever they shall be divulgat. It was thought expedient to communicate the matter only with those that are strongest, till farther knowledge of the queen's majesty's good mind towards this action. We doubt not the good mind of the whole congregation, which is great, as I doubt not but by others you will understand ; but it is not thought expedient that so weighty a matter be untimously disclosed. True and faithful preachers in the north parts cannot but greatly advance this cause. If a learned and godly man might be appointed to Berwick, with license also to preach within Scotland, I doubt not but to obtain unto him the hands of the most part of the gentlemen of the east borders. Advert one thing, sir, that if the hearts of the borderers of both parts can be united together in God's fear, our victory shall be easy. The fear of no man, I trust, this day to cause any of those that have professed themselves enemies to superstition within Scotland, to lift their hand against England, so long as it will abide in the purity of Christ's doctrine. Continual labours oppressing me, (most unable for the same,) I am compelled to end with imperfection. The source of all wisdom rule your heart to the end.

“ So much I reverence your judgment, that I will ye first see my letter, or ye deliver it, and therefore I send it open. Read and present it if ye think meet.”

At the same time that the Lords of the Congregation addressed to Cecil the letter mentioned in the text, p. 79, as written and composed by Knox, the same indefatigable man prepared for them a letter to the queen. It is dated Edinburgh, 19th July, 1559; and as it has never been printed, I subjoin it here from the original in the State-

paper Office, and in Knox's handwriting, and signed by the principal leaders of the Congregation.

LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

" Right mighty, right high, and right excellent princess, with our most humill commendations unto your majesty. Albeit that heretofore divers men have wished, and, as occasion hath offered, prudent men have devised, a perpetual amity betwixt the inhabitants of these our two realms ; and yet that no good success hath to this day ensued of such travel and labours taken, yet cannot we, the professors of Christ Jesus in this realm of Scotland, cease to be suitors unto your grace, and unto your grace's well advised council, to have eye to this our present estate. We have enterprised to enter in battle against the devil, against idolatry, and against that sort of men, who, before abusing, as well us as our princes, made us enemies to our friends, and the maintainers of strangers, of whom we now look [for] nothing but utter subversion of our commonwealth. If in this battle we shall be overthrown, (as that we stand in great danger as well by domes-tical enemies, as by the great preparation which we hear to be sent against us by France,) we fear that our ruin shall be but an increase to a greater cruelty. And therefore we are compelled to seek remedy against such tyranny, by all such lawful means as God shall offer. And knowing your grace to have enterprised like reformation of religion, we could not cease to require and crave of your grace, of your council, subjects, and realm, such support in this our present danger, as may to us be comfortable, and may declare your grace and council unfeignedly to thrust [thirst] the advancement of Christ Jesus, [and] of his glorious gospel : and whatsoever your grace and council can prudently devise, and reasonably require of us again, for a perpetual amity to stand betwixt the two realms, shall, upon our parts, neither be denied, neither (God willing) in any point be violated, as at more length we have declared in a letter written to your majesty's secretary, Mr Cecil.

" Right mighty, right high, and right excellent princess, we pray Almighty God to have your grace in his eternal tuition, and to grant you prosperous success in all your godly proceedings, to the glory of his name, and to the comfort of all those which earnestly thrust the increase of the kingdom of Christ Jesus.

" From Edinburgh, the 19th of July,

" By your grace's most humble and faithful friends,

" ARCHD. ERGYLL.

PATRICK RUTHVEN.

" ALEXANDER GLENCAIRN.

ROBERT BOYD.

" JAMES SANCTANDROS.

ANDRO OCHILTRÉ."

The proclamation, published by the Congregation on the 25th July 1559, alluded to in this volume, p. 83, is an important document, and has never been printed. It is as follows:—

“Apud Edinburgh, 25th July, Anno 1559.

“Forasmuch as the Lords of Congregation and Secret Council that has remained in this town (this sum time) bygane, are now to depart forth of the same, upon compromitt made betwixt them and the lords sent from the queen's grace regent, containing these heads: That no idolatry shall be erected where it is already suppressed; and that no member of the Congregation shall be troubled for religion, or any other cause dependent thereupon, in body, lands, or goods; and that their minister shall have full liberty not only to preach, but also to ministrate the sacraments, publicly and privately as they think good, without trouble or impediment to be made to them by the queen, or any other, openly or quietly. And also, that no band or bands of men of war, French, Scots, or others, shall be laid, nor remain within the town of Edinburgh. Therefore the said Lords of Congregation has thought good to notify the said, by this present proclamation, to all whom effects, and especially to their brethren of the Congregation now within this town; certifiand them, and promising faithfully, if any of the foresaid points be violated or broken, that the said Lords of the Congregation will in that case fortify, concur, and assist with their whole power and substance, as they have done in times bygane, to the reformation thereof, supporting of their brethren, relieving of every member of the true Congregation that shall be open to be invaded or molested, and to the furthering of God's glory, upon their honours, and as they will answer therefore in presence of Eternal God.

“Proclaimed by voice of trumpet at the market cross of Edinburgh, the day aforesaid.”¹

Not only did the Lords of the Congregation, as stated in this volume, (p. 89,) address their remonstrances to Cecil, but Knox directed to the same minister a vigorous letter, dated at St Andrews, 15th Aug. 1559. It is garbled, and changed in his History, but the passages I have given in this volume, pp. 94, 95, are taken from the original in the State-paper Office. On the 23d of August, 1559, he addressed the following letter to Sir James Crofts, under the fictitious name of John Sinclair. It is preserved in the State-paper Office, and endorsed, in Cecil's hand-writing, “Mr Knox.”

“Immediately upon the receipt of your letters, right worshipful, I despatched one to the lords, from whom I doubt not ye shall receive

¹ This Paper, which is in the State-paper Office, is endorsed in Cecil's hand, 25th July, apud Edinburgh. Proclamation of the Congregation.

answer according to your desire, with convenient expedition. The queen-regent here, as before I have written unto you, is marvellous busy in assembling all that she can. She hath addressed ordnance, and other munition, to Stirling. She hath corrupted, as is suspected, the Lord Erskine, captain of the castle of Edinburgh, and hopeth to receive it ; but that will not so much hurt us as our enemies suppose, if all other things be prudently foreseen. She [breatheth] nothing but treason and revolt from her daughter's authority ; but men begin to foresee somewhat more than they did not long ago. I wrote unto you before in favours of my [wife,] beseeching you yet eftsoones to grant her free and ready passage ; for my wicked carcass, now presently labouring in the fevers, needeth her service. I beseech you to grant unto the other man that cometh for my wife, passport to repair towards her for her better conducting. The spirit of all wisdom rule your heart, in the true fear of God to the end. From Londye, in Fife, the 23d of August, 1559.

“Yours to power,

“JOHN SINCLEAR.

“Read, write, and interpret
all to the best.

“In the midst of the exess.”
(exies.)¹

No. IV.

Sir Ralph Sadler's Instructions, page 87.

These Instructions mentioned in this volume, are preserved in the State-paper Office, and are endorsed in Cecil's hand, “8th August, 1559, Sir Ralff Saddler.” They are important in the strong light they throw upon Elizabeth's policy towards Scotland ; and, as they have not been printed, I subjoin them here.

“MEMORIAL OF THINGS TO BE IMPARTED TO THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY— THE MATTER OF MR SADLER'S.

“First.—That he understand how the proceedings there differ from our intelligences here, and thereafter to proceed either the quicklier or the slower.

“Item.—The principal scope shall be to nourish the faction betwixt the Scots and the French, so that the French may be better occupied with them, and less busy with England. The means whereby may be those as follow, beside such as Mr Sadler of himself shall think

¹ The exies ; the ague—Jamieson's Supplement.

meet. First, to provoke all such as have stirred in the last assembly, to require the queen-regent to perform her promise, both for restoring of religion, and sending away the Frenchmen, and to persuade them, that although they may be reconciled with promises or rewards, yet shall they never be trusted by the Frenchmen.

“Item.—To procure that the Duke may, for preservation of the expectant interest which he hath to the crown, if God call the young queen before she have issue, instantly withstand the governance of that realm by any other than by the blood of Scotland : like as the King of Spain, being husband to the Queen of England, committed no charge of any manner of office, spiritual or temporal, to any stranger ; neither doth he otherwise, nor his father before him, in his countries of Flanders, Brabant, or any other, but suffereth them to be governed wholly by their own nation. In this point, if the Duke mean to preserve his title, ought he to be earnest ; for otherwise he may be assured that the French, under pretence of subduing of religion, will also subdue the realm, and extirpe his house.

“Item.—If this may be compassed, then may the nobility of Scotland also require of their queen, that, to avoid such mortal wars and bloodshed as hath been betwixt England and Scotland, there might be a perpetual peace made betwixt both these realms, so as no invasions should be made by either of them by their frontiers ; and for the answer of an objection which may be made to disturb this purpose, it may be well said, that although the Scottish queen do falsely pretend title to the crown of England, yet doth she it but as descended from the blood of England, that is to say, of the body of King Henry the Seventh, whereunto none of Scotland either doth or can make pretence, and therefore none ought to be abused by any of such persuasion.

“Item.—The Duke may pretend as good cause to arrest Monsieur D’Oysell, or some other of the French, as for answering for his two sons, the earl and the L. David, as the French have done, in driving away the one and imprisoning the other, being neither of them his subjects nor offenders against him.

“Item.—It shall do well to explore the very truth whether the Lord James do mean any enterprise towards the crown of Scotland for himself or no ; and if he do, and the Duke be found very cold in his own causes, it shall not be amiss to let the Lord James follow his own device therein, without dissuading or persuading him any thing therein.

“Item.—Finally, if he shall find any disposition in any of them to rid away the French there, he may well accelerate the same, with this persuasion, that if they tarry until the aid come out of France, they shall find these to abide longer than they would.”

No. V.

Intelligence from Scotland, page 107.

The paper quoted in this volume, under the title “Intelligence out of Scotland,” contains the journal of one of Cecil’s numerous spies. It is dated and marked with his own hand ; and although its information is not implicitly to be relied on, it furnishes us with some curious details.

INTELLIGENCE OUT OF SCOTLAND, THE 10TH NOVEMBER, 1559.

“First, the Earl Bothwell, the Lord Borthwick, and the Lord Seaton, are with the queen-dowager of Scotland, and taketh a plain part with her, and no other noblemen of Scotland. All the rest of the noblemen of Scotland taketh part with the Governor of Scotland.

“The governor’s eldest son, the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, Glencairn, the Lord Revill [Ruthven,] the Prior of St Andrews, the Master of Maxwell, the Lord of Livingston [Lethington,] are made regents of the realm of Scotland by the Congregation, to have the governance of the same realm until they have a righteous prince amongst them ; the which regents with their trains came to Edinburgh *the 23d day of October* last, with twelve thousand men with them, and sat in council, and there deprived the said queen-dowager of all rule in Scotland, for that she did not keep promises with them, nor follow the counsel of the nobility of Scotland for the weal of the realm and the liberty of the same.

“At the coming of the said lords to Edinburgh, the queen with her party, being three thousand French and four hundred Scots, removed to Leith.

“The last of October last past, in the night, the Earl Bothwell, accompanied with twenty-four men, met the Lord of Ormiston, accompanied with six men, about Haddington, and there took from him six thousand crowns sterling, which the said lord was carrying to the governor, and hurt the same lord upon the face with a sword sore ; that he lieth upon the same at his house of Ormiston.

“The advertisements of the taking of the same money came to the governor, who sent his eldest son, the Master of Maxwell, the Prior of St Andrews, and others, being seven hundred men or thereabout, to the castle of Crichton, the Earl Bothwell’s chief house, distant from Edinburgh eight miles, who entered into the same, and put garrison into it upon Allhallows-day, and lay that night there, and came to Edinburgh on the morrow.

“Upon Allhallows-day, after the riding forth of the said governor,

his son, and the others, the same was declared to the queen by a servant of the Bishop of Dumblain ; and immediately after the same declaration, about one thousand five hundred French and Sootamen issued out of Leith, and skirmished with about 11 c. [eleven hundred] Sootamen that had laid two pieces of great ordnance upon a little hill beside Holyrood House, to shoot at Leith, and the Frenchmen won the one piece, and the other was bursted. And the same Frenchmen entered into Canongate, and spoiled the same to the port of the town, and slew twenty-one Scotsmen and three women ; and six Frenchmen were slain at the same skirmish. And forty men of arms of France rode in at the Port, and went almost to the Tron, where they were put back by the governor and his party. The castle of Edinburgh shot two cannons at the French party at the said skirmish, for the which the queen reproved the Lord Erskine, who made answer, that he would shoot at any person that went about to annoy the town of Edinburgh.

"The 3d of November present, the governor sent his son and the Master of Maxwell, with three hundred horsemen, to Crichton castle, who at their arrival there, sent to the Earl Bothwell, being at the castle of Borthwick, and willed him to come and take part with the lords, which he refused to do ; and then the governor's son spoiled the castle of Crichton, and had the spoil and all his evidents to the governor.

"The 4th November aforesaid, the queen sent to the lords; and moved them to quietness, saying, she would keep all promises with them, if they would do the like ; whereunto they would not agree, saying, they had found her so false and unnatural, that they would never trust her, nor have to do with her nor France but by the sword.

"The 6th November instant, the Congregation and the French skirmished together, at which was slain Alexander Halyburton, brother to the tutor of Pitcur, one of the best captains of Scotland, and thirty footmen of Scotland, and divers taken ; and of the French six or seven slain, and six taken. The Lords of Scotland perceiving that their skirmishes chanced not well with them, and that they were not in a perfect readiness for the wars, put all the ordnance in Edinburgh castle upon band of the Lord Erskine, to have the same safely delivered to them again, and the said 6th of November, about midnight, removed to Lithgow, where they remained in consultation and preparing for the wars, and will set up a coin, saying they shall coyne a good part of their plate for maintenance of the word of God, and the wealth of Scotland.

"The morrow next after, being the 7th of November, the queen removed to Edinburgh about ten of the clock before noon, where she remaineth, having all things there at her will. The most part of the

inhabitants of Edinburgh fled out of the town with bag and baggage before her coming hither, and put a great part of their best stuff in Edinburgh castle for the safety thereof.

"The Bishops of St Andrews and Glasgow are with the queen, and the Bishops of the Out Isles and Galloway with the Lords and Congregation."

No. VI.

Treaty of Berwick, page 116.

At the time of the treaty of Berwick, described in this volume, Cecil sent queries to the Scottish lords, to which he required them to make definite answers.—The following paper, preserved in the State-paper Office, contains these questions and the replies. It is endorsed in Cecil's hand, "20th February, 1559," and is in the handwriting of Sir R. Sadler.

CERTAIN QUESTIONS PROPOSED TO THE LORDS OF SCOTLAND, ANSWERED AND RESOLVED BY THEM.¹

1. Whether they be able of themselves to resist the French power, and expel them out of Scotland?

Answer.—In respect of the fortresses which the French occupied in the time the queen-dowager bare rule, and yet do possess, we are not able, without the queen's majesty's support, to expel them, seeing the whole body of the realm is not as yet united.

Question.—What aid then is required?

Answer.—They require England to join with Scotland in league to expel these their enemies, and promise on their part to unite with England at all times against her enemies, and refer the specialty of the aid to herself.

Question.—What power, horse and foot, can they levy, and how soon?

Answer.—We would be able to bring five thousand men into the field, of which two thousand should watch and ward in company with the English soldiers, according to the rate of their number; and with the other three thousand we shall keep the country in obedience, and make them be sure on all sides, night and day, that they shall need to attend upon nothing, saving the French within the fort; and we shall meet their army at Acheson's Haven, the 25th day of March next coming.

Question.—How long they be able to abide and continue in the field?

¹ Scots Correspondence, 20th February, 1559.

Answer.—The whole nobility and landed men, with their households, shall remain continually, so long as the queen's majesty's power shall remain, how long soever it be, and the remenant number the space of twenty days after the meeting and joining of both the armes, upon their own charges, and at the end of the said twenty days, shall have in readiness two thousand footmen, or thereby, to receive wages of the queen's majesty, and continue so long as need shall be, and three or four hundred light horsemen, if it be thought convenient in like manner to receive wages. And as to the number of the nobility, landed men, and their households, which shall remain after the said twenty days, it shall be declared unto you before the end of the said twenty days, that you may be assured what you shall trust to.

Question.—What ordnance for battery, and what munition can they bring?

Answer.—It is not unknown to you, that all the artillery and munition of Scotland is in the hands of the queen and the French, and [in] the strengths that are not in our hands.

Question.—What carriages can they furnish for the transport of great ordnance?

Answer.—The artillery and draught gear being brought to Acheson's Haven by sea, the lack of carriage horses supplied from thence to Leith.

Question.—What number of pioneers they can help us with?

Answer.—We believe, assuredly, that on the queen's majesty's charges, we shall levy three or four hundred, or more if need be.

Question.—What necessaries they have for scaling and assaulting of forts?

Answer.—They have none in store, but whatsoever is in the country will be at their command; and there is wood and broom enough within four miles of Leith.

Question.—How they can furnish the army with victuals for horse and men?

Answer.—Plenty of oats for horses; as to forage, they cannot say much till they see how far the country is destroyed; as to men, commissaries with a convenient sum of money should be sent into Scotland, to buy vp victuals, of which there will be plenty. There is arrested in merchants' hands in Dundee, two hundred tuns of wine, which will be delivered into the commissaries' hands for thirty-four pounds Scottish the tun, viz. eight pounds ten shillings sterling.

Question.—Where and when their power and ours shall join together?

Answer.—It shall be the greatest ease for us to meet you in some part of Lothian where ye think good, but always we reserve that to your discretion.

Question.—Are they able to take and occupy Edinburgh?—What as to the Lord Erskine?

Answer.—It is too great a hazard to attempt Edinburgh before the joining of the armies, because we doubt the French, as desperate men, will enterprise a battle. As to Lord Erskine, they will promise nothing assuredly, but hope he will be no enemy.

Question.—How the borderers in Scotland may be reduced to take part with the said lords in this cause?

Answer.—They are labouring presently, and are in good hope to reduce the most part of them thereto; for the obstinate they will take order as you may advise.

Question.—What number of ships for the wars?

Answer.—No great number at their command, but there are some which will make forth against the French at their own adventure.

Question.—Where they shall be able to lodge in towns together, six hundred demi-lances and six hundred light horsemen?

Answer.—They shall be placed in Edinburgh, if it may be had, failing thereof, in towns thereabouts, the most commodious to be left to them in all sorts.

Question.—Where we may best land our artillery and munition?

Answer.—At Acheson's Haven; there is good hard ground from thence to Leith.

No. VII.

Letters of the Lord James, afterwards Regent Moray.¹

THE LORD JAMES ST ANDREWS TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

“ Right Honourable Sir—After all loving commendation. Albeit I have in a general letter with my brethren presently written unto you, and as the present bearer, my good friend, may sufficiently instruct you of all things needful; yet have I thought necessary to gratify in one part your good mind, at all times shown not only towards our common cause, but also in particular towards me, which, as it is in all sorts undeserved on my side, so am I the more affected unto you therefor, which, God willing, you shall apperceive indeed, if ever the goodness of God shall grant, the good opinion and expectation that causeless ye have conceived of me, shall come to good maturity and fruit—God of his mercy grant it may. And as I have found this your good mind unrequired, having found it, I am bold to desire you most earnestly to continue in the same, as well towards the weal of our

¹ Preserved in the State-paper Office.

common cause as of myself, as I persuade myself ye will ; and to that effect, I have my good friend the young Laird of Lethington bearer hereof, and his proceedings towards the premises, most heartily recommended him unto your honour's wisdom and good council, whom God mot prosper to his glory.—At Sanct Andrews, the 15th day of November, 1559.

“By your assured friend,

“JAMES SANCTAND.”¹

THE LORD JAMES TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

“Please your grace, after my departing from Berwick, I safely arrived in Fife, and found my Lord of Arran in St Andrews, ready to depart towards my Lord of Huntley in St Johnston, with whom I departed towards him, and after mutual conference, has found him to see throughout thir present matters, and willing to show himself to the furtherance of the same at this present, which I suppose he testifies by his writings to the queen's majesty, and also to Mr Cecil with his own servant, who is also instructed with credit ; and if it shall please your grace, in my opinion these writings should be kept in store for all adventurea. Since my returning from my Lord of Huntley, which was the 1st of this instant, I have been continually travelling in the towns here upon the sea coast, for preparation of victuals against the arrival of the commissaries, and also upon the preparation of our folks, assuring ourselves of meeting upon the day appointed. And in case any let come on your side, (as God forbid,) it will please your grace to make us an advertisement, because we look for none, and so commits your grace to the protection of the Eternal. At Pittenweem, the 8th March, 1559.

“By your grace to command,

“JAMES STEWART.”

LORD JAMES TO SECRETARY CECIL.

“After most hearty commendation ; as travelling with my Lord Duke's Grace of Norfolk, and all times before, I have found the favour of God prospering his work in the hands of his servants, even so perceive I still and sensyne his blessing always to continue therewith. My Lord of Huntley, with a great part of the north, as I look for, will keep the affixed [time] betwixt my lord duke and us, whereof I trust you shall be certified by his own writing, which I would wish were kept in store. And further, I hope in God there

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, endorsed by Cecil, Lord James St Andrews, 15th November, 1559.

shall be very few of the nobility that shall not join them at this time ; and if God shall grant us good luck and success in this journey, I am persuaded the matter that all godly men so long have desired, and wise men travelled to bring to pass, shall be, by the tender mercy of God, most happily achieved, to the great comfort of us, and the great felicity of the ages to come ; and seeing it cometh near the birth, let no earnest labourer (as you are) faint in the Lord's work ; who mot prosper the same in your hands. From Pittenweem, the 8th of March, 1559.

“ By your assured good friend,

“ JAMES STEWART.”

No. VIII.

Character of the Earl of Huntley, pages 118, 119.

This nobleman, perhaps the most powerful baron in Scotland, has been somewhat undeservedly lauded. Like his brethren, he was crafty, selfish, and ambitious. The following letter from his brother, the Bishop of Caithness, and the interesting paper which follows it, disclose his secret transactions with the Lords of the Congregation, and throw light on the severity with which he was afterwards treated by Mary.

LETTER FROM A. GORDON TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

“ After hearty commendations to your grace, it will please you to wit, that in consideration of the relation made by the queen-dowager to divers of your grace's countrymen, quha spak her in the castle of Edinburgh, that my lord my brother, the Earl of Huntley, would by no way assist or concur with us in defence of this our common and godly action, I will be so bold, with your grace's pardon, to assure you of the contrary. Notwithstanding the great policy and craft used by the said queen-dowager to empesche the same, who has done utter diligence to break the whole nobility of his country against him, which was the principal and chiefest occasion of his tarry ; who *beis* unfailland in our camp, the 20th or 21st of this present April, to assist and set forward these our proceedings and godly union, at the uttermost of his power.¹

“ Edinburgh, 18th April, 1560.

The second paper to which I allude, is endorsed by Randolph, Ths

¹ Endorsed by Cecil, Bishop of Athens to the Duke of Norfolk.

REQUESTS OF THE EARL OF HUNTERY TO THE LORNE, and dated in Cecil's handwriting, part of which is torn away, 18th April, 1560.

" Forsomuch as by the labour, persuasions, and suborning of the French part, and others their favourers and part takers within this realm, there is a con[tract] and league made by their means among a great number of the nobles of the north parts of this realm, certain clane, and islesmen of the same, that they shall maintain, and with their power extreme defend, the auld manner of religion, and French authority within this realm ; nothingless to the resistance of my lord duke's grace, and others his part takers, nor for invading of me, my friends, and part takers, and destroying of our *rowmes* that shall assist with his grace, of the which they have begun one part already. Wherefore, the said Earl of Huntley, since he adventures his body, life, rents, and lands, with his whole friends that will do for him, desires that my lord duke, and others the noblemen assisters to his grace's proceedings, make him, his friends and part takers, an assured promise under their handwrits to their maintenance in their lives, rents, lands, and possessions. And that, by his grace and them, the said earl and his assisters might have the queen's majesty of England's aid and support when he shall [require] the same, as well for to defend their incursions and pursuits, as to pursue them and their rowmes that will not concur with him to the duke's grace's effect, and the maintaining the liberty of this realm, and commonweal thereof, so far as we are within the north parts of the mount.

" Item.—Desires in like manner, that where he understands the duke's grace, with his council, is already disponing to sundry men certain rowmes in these north parts, and to them in special which shall be found of the said confederacy : that in that respect his grace, nor his council and part takers, shall dispone nothing of the lands and duties of the kirk escheats, and casualties of thir parts, but to such as shall be his concurrents, and join themselves with him to the forth-setting of the action of the commonweal, or, at the least, without his [lordship's] consent and advice, and that within the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, Moray, Nairn, and Inverness.

" Item.—Because it is not unknown his lordship and his predecessors to have been, under his sovereign, the man to have had the supreme authority in the north in time by past, and power given to them by their sovereigns for the time, desires to have suchlike power and authority as before times, with assistance and maintenance of his grace and his assisters both of Scotland and England, so that not only shall any of his own pretend to disobey or ly aback in this action, but by the said power, assistance, and authority, he may inbring them with

the rest of their adherents, so that the liberty and common weal of this poor realm might be more easily preserved, and he and his part takers may, through such authority and help, the more heartily concur and ware their lives, and hazard their heritages in the said action : and who shall be required by the duke, and the lords his grace's assisters, to concur in the forthsetting of the said action, and refuses the same, and the rest at his grace's command, shall be pursued by the said Earl of Huntley in that case ; their escheats and *rownmes* to be disposed to him and such other gentlemen and barons that serves with him."

THE LORDS' ANSWER TO THE EARL OF HUNTLEY.¹

To the 1st. The answer made is, "That by the band entered into by the Congregation, they are bound mutually to defend each other ; and if Huntley joins them, he will participate in this obligation and enjoy the benefit."

To the 2d. "Huntley has seen the copy of the contract between them and the queen's majesty, by which she obliges herself to support and defend them ; and if Huntley joins them, he will be included in the benefit of this contract as one of themselves."

Where in the second article it is alleged that the said earl understands they are already disposing certain rowmies to sundry men in the north parts * * * it is answered, "That the lords have made no disposition of any thing to any persons, but only constitute factours, * * * * * and no factours made of any rowmies in these parts ; and his lordship coming and adjoining him to the said lords, no disposition of factorie shall be made by [contrary to] his advice."

To the 3d. That he have the same authority as his predecessors have had before him in the north parts, it is answered — "That the lords as yet have never taken upon them the disposition of *escheats or office of lieutenandrie*, fearing, if they would pretend any such matter, it would be sinistly interpreted, and the adversaries would calumniate them as usurpers of our sovereign's authority. Nevertheless, perceiving my Lord of Huntley's good affection to haste a moyen, whereby all men may be adjoined to this cause, they are content to grant to my lord at his coming hither to them, all and whatsoever things may so further the cause that he himself will think that they may do, remaining obedient subjects, and reserving their obedience to their sovereign ; and for that they may see he requires this only for furtherance of the common cause, and not for any commodity, they will in this article follow his good advice and counsel after his coming. At which time, in this as in all others, he shall be satisfied."

¹ Scots Correspondence, dated in Cecil's hand, 18th April, 1560.

No. IX.

An Irish Ambassador in 1560.

The following extract from a letter addressed by Randolph to Cecil, is amusing, in the vivid portrait it gives us of O'Neil's ambassador ; and in showing also that the Irish language was written and understood by the inhabitants of the north of Scotland as late, at least, as August 25, 1560, the date of this letter. It is preserved in the State-paper Office.

" May it please you to understand, that the 16th of this present, there came to the Earl of Argyle, out of Ireland, an ambassador from O'Neil. What was his message, and effect of his embassy, your honour may perceive by these letters which the Earl of Argyle hath sent, beside also some other matter that he requireth to be advertised of from your honour as you see time. The letter, that he received from O'Neil he caused to be translated into English, and hath, notwithstanding, sent you the original, *ad faciendam majorem fidem*, and also for you to see the strangeness of their orthography : this he desireth to be sent unto him again.

" The manner and behaviour of him from whom the letter came, is not so strange as it was wonderful to see the presence of his ambassador. A man that exceedeth many in stature. He walked afoot out of Erland hither alone; his diet, by reason of the length of his journey, so failed him, that he was fain to leave his saffron shirt in gage. The rest of his apparel such, that the earl, before he would give him audience, arrayed him new from the neck downwards; for razor he would none; his lodging was in the chimney, his drink chiefly aquavite and milk. Though the message that he came of was such as the Earl of Argyle by no means will consent unto for divers respects ; as, chiefly, the ungodliness of the person, and the worthiness of his sister, of whom I hear great commendation : yet will he not utterly shake him off, or give him any resolute answer, but intendeth awhile to entertain him, to see what good may be done upon him, either to bring him to God or more civility."

No. X.

Mary's aversion to Knox.

The following extract from a letter of Throckmorton to Queen Elizabeth, dated 13th July, 1561, Paris, and preserved in the French Correspondence of the State-paper Office, evinces the strong aversion

which the young Queen of Scots had conceived against this reformer, previous to her arrival in her dominions.

"The said queen's [Scotland] determination to go home continues still; she goeth shortly from the court to Fescamp, in Normandy, there to make her mother's funerals and burial, and from thence to Calais, there to embark. * * The late unquietness in Scotland hath disquieted her very much, and yet stayeth not her journey. The 5th of this present, the Earl of Bothwell arrived here in post. * * I understand that the Queen of Scotland is thoroughly persuaded that the most dangerous man in all her realm of Scotland, both to her intent there, and the dissolving of the league between your maj: and that realm, is Knoke. And therefore is fully determined to use all the means she can devise to banish him thence, or else to assure them that she will never dwell in that country as long as he is there; and to make him the more odious to your maj: and that at your hands he receive neither courage nor comfort, she mindeth to send very shortly to your maj: (if she have not already done it) to lay before you the book that he hath written against the government of women, (which your maj: hath seen already,) thinking thereby to animate your maj: against him; but whatsoever the said queen shall insinuate your maj: of him, I take him to be as much for your maj: purpose,—and that he hath done, and doth daily, as good service for the advancement of your maj: desire in that country, and to establish a mutual benevolence and common quiet between the two realms, as any man of that nation; his doings wherein, together with his zeal well known, have sufficiently recompensed his faults in writing that book; and therefore [he] is not to be driven out of that realm."

No. XI.

Mary and Lethington.

It has been stated in this volume, p. 168, that, previous to her setting out from France, Mary addressed letters of forgiveness and kindness to nearly all her subjects who filled offices of trust. The following letter she sent to Secretary Lethington: it is printed from a copy endorsed by Cecil, "Queen of Scots' letter to the L. of Lethington, 29th June, 1561," preserved in the State-paper Office.

"Lethington. Jay receu vostre lettre du x^{me} de ce moya. Et vous employant en mon service et faisant bien suyvant la bonne volonté q m'asseurez en avoir; il ne fault point que vous craignez les calomniateurs ny rapporteurs, car ils n'auront jamais bonne part auprès de moy. Je prend garde aux effects devant q'adjuster foy en tout à

ce que l'on me dit. Et quant au scrupule que pourroit proceder de l'accointance qu'avez en Angleterre il cessera avec l'intelligence que vous y pouvez avoir. A quoy il vous est ayse remedier si vous voulez. Et pour ce vous avez este l'instrument, et principal negociateur de toutes les pratiques que ma noblesse a eu en Angleterre, si vous desirez que oultre ce que J'ay dejà oublyé toutes offences passées comme Je vous ay escript cy devant, Je me fye à bon (effient) et me serve de vous, faictes que les ostages qui sont au dict pays en soyent retirez, et vous employez à dissoudre ce que vous avez moyenne et sollicite en cest endroict, avec tel effect, Je me puisse assurer de vostre bonne affection. Vous avez l'entendement et dextérité de faire plus que cela, et ne se passe rien entre ma noblesse dont vous n'avez cognoissance, et que vostre advice n'y soit receu. *Aussi Je ne veula sous celor, que s'il se faict quelque chose qui n'aile droit par cy apres me fiant de vous vous estez calluy à qui je m'en prendray le premier.* Je veux vivre dorénavant en toute amytie et bonne voisinance avec la Royne d'Angleterre, et suis sur mon partement pour passer en mon Royaume où j'espere estre dans le tems que J'ay mande par le Prieur de St André — A mon arrivée par dela jaury besoing trouver quelques deniers pour subvenir à ma maison, et autres necessitez. Il en est sort y depuis ung an une bonne somme du proffit de ma monnoye e y a assui dautres casualitez. Vous me ferez plaisir de tener la main que de coste ou d'autre J'en puisse trouver de prestz pour men ayder promptement. Et cependant vous me scrivez et donnerez avis de tout. Jay ven par vostre lettre comme vous avez fait publier et executer celles que n'aguieres je vous avez envoyées touchant les alienations des terres ecclasiastiques — Et quant à la declaration de mon intention plus avant, estant sur mon dict parlement Je lay remyse apres mon arrivée. Je feray bien ayse de voir et intrendre comme les choses sont passés en cest endroict tant auparavant les troubles que depuis le commencement d'iceulx, priant Dieu, Lethington vous avoir en sa sainte garde. Escript à Paris, le xxix Jour de Jung, 1561."

No. XII.

Elizabeth's violent refusal of a Passport to Mary.

It appears from the following letter of Lethington to Cecil, dated at Edinburgh, 15th August, 1561, that the English queen had so far suffered herself to be overcome by passion, as openly to declare to D'Osell, that she would not suffer his mistress to come into her own dominions.

"Sir,—Hither came yesternight from France a Scottish gentleman

called Capt. Anstruther, sent by the queen our sovereign, who left her Maj : (as he saith) at Morin, six leagues from the court at St Germain, where she had left the king, and was coming towards Calais there to embarque. He hath letters to the most part of the noblemen, whereby she doth complain, that the queen's majesty not only hath refused passage to Monsieur D'Osell, and the safe-conduct which she did courteously require for herself, but also doth make open declaration that she will not suffer her to come home to her own realm ; yet is her affection such towards her country, and so great desire she hath to see us, that she meaneth not for that threatening to stay, but taketh her journey with two galleys only, without any forces, accompanied with her three uncles, the Duke D'Aumall, the Marquis d'Elboef, and the Great Prior, one of the constable's sons, Monsieur Damville, and their trains, and so trust her person in our hands. In the meantime, thinking that the queen's maj : will by some means pratique the subjects of this realm, she hath written to divers, and specially those whom she knoweth most affectioned, to continue the intelligence, willing them in anywise that they receive no ambassador from her majesty, nor renew any league with her highness, unto such time as she be present with us : the bearer saith that she will arrive before the 26th day of this instant. What this message meaneth I cannot judge : I marvel that she will utter any thing to us which she would have kept close for you : and if two galleys may quietly passa, I wish the passport had been liberally granted. To what purpose should you open your pack and sell none of your wares, or declare you enemies to those whom you cannot offend. It passeth my dull capacity to imagine what this sudden enterprise should mean. We have determined to trust no more than we shall see, yet can I not but fear the issue for lack of charges and sufficient power. If any thing chance amiss, we shall feel the first dint ; but I am sure you see the consequence. It shall be well done that the Q. maj : keep some ordinary power at Berwick, of good force, so long as we stand in doubtful terms, as well for safety of the peace as our comfort. The neighbourhood of your men will discourage our enemies and make us the bolder. My wit is not sufficient to give advice in so dangerous a cast, but I mean well. God maintain his cause, and those that mean uprightly. I pray you send me your advice what is best to be done, as well in the common cause, as in my particular, who am taken to be a chief meddler and principal negotiator of all the practiques with that realm : though I be not in greatest place, yet is not my danger least, specially when she shall come home, having so late received at the Q. maj : hands (as she will think) so great a courtesy. This Capt. Anstruther hath also a commission to receive from the French

captains the castle of Dunbar and the fort of Inchkeith, and to send home all the soldiers. I have heard that the queen meaneth to draw home the Earl of Lennox furth of England, and to make him an instrument of division in this realm, setting him up against the Duke of Chastelherault. I trust the queen's maj: will have good regard thereto. In anywise let me hear, I pray you, often from you. If I may receive every four or five days a line or two from you, it shall be my greatest comfort; and because I must now be jealous of my letters, I pray you make some mention in yours of the receipt of so many as I have sent you this month. (This is the third.) * * * Edinburgh, the 15th day of August, 1561.

"Yours at commandment,

"W. MAITLAND."

No. XIII.

Lethington and Cecil.

As an example of Lethington's lighter epistolary style, the reader may be interested in the following letter, written to Cecil when the Scottish secretary was in love with Mary Fleming, one of the queen's Marys, whom he afterwards married. It is amusing to find that he had chosen so grave a confidant as Cecil. There is preserved in the British Museum, a pathetic letter of this Mary Fleming, written to Lord Burghley, entreating him to use his influence with Morton, that the body of Lethington, her husband, might suffer no shame. It has been printed by Chalmers, from the original in the Cotton collection.—*Life of Mary*, vol. ii. p. 502.

LEDINGTON TO CECIL.¹

"Sir—I have of late been somewhat perplexed, understanding that you were sick, the rather that I could not have certain knowledge whether it was the cough which universally did reign, or other more dangerous disease, which did trouble you. I am glad to hear, by the report of such as come from hence, that you have recovered your health, and yet will not be fully assured thereof, until such time as I shall see the same testified by some letter, written with your own hand. I am not *tam cupidus rerum novarum* that I desire any change; and if my fortune should be at any time to come in that realm, I wish not to have occasion to make any new acquaintance. I confess I have found in you some lacks, and points which I have wished to be reformed,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, Edinburgh, 28th February, 1564-5.

and shall still find, so long as you do not fully satisfy my affections (such is the nature of man and phylautye ($\phi\lambda\alpha\tau\alpha$) which maketh us fancy too much our own conceptions.) Yet, I do not look for any full reformation of you in that behalf, and not the less when I do indifferently and without passion behold your proceedings ; and even such as I appear most to malike, I am constrained to think, that if any other occupied the same place, I might, perhaps, have matter ministered unto me of more maliking. Therefore, how far soever I mislike you, I wish you to do well to yourself, and suffer neither the evil weather nor evil world kill you. As there are in you many good parts, which I require in myself, so I find in me one great virtue, whereof, for your commodity, I wish you a portion : to wit, the common affairs do never so much trouble me, but that at least I have one merry hour of the four and twenty ; and you labour continually without intermission, nothing considering that the body, yea, and the mind also, must sometime have recreation, or else they cannot long last. Such physic as I do minister unto myself, I appoint for you. Marry, you may, perhaps, reply, that as now the world doth go with me, my body is better disposed to digest such than yours is, (for those that be in love, are ever set upon a merry pin;) yet I take this to be a most singular remedy for all diseases in all persons. You see how I abuse my leisure, and do trouble your occupations with matters of so light moment. It is not for lack of a more grave subject, but that I purposely forbear it, not knowing in what sort I may touch it and avoid offence. I will, with better devotion, look for other matter in your next letter, than for any answer to this foolish letter of mine, and yet, rather to be advertised of your convalescence. You can impart those news to none that will be more glad of them. Like as, if you will command any thing that lieth in my power conveniently to do, you will find none, next your son, over whom you have more authority. And so, after my most hearty commendations, I take my leave.— From Edinburgh, the last of February, 1564.

“ Yours at command,

“ W. MAITLAND.”

No. XIV.

Characteristic Letter of Knox.

The following letter of this reformer (alluded to in this volume, p. 251,) is addressed to Randolph, and dated at Edinburgh, 3d —, 1564. Some few words are unreadable, but, as a whole, it is very characteristic.

“ Both yours are come to my hands, with your bow, for the which

I heartily thank you. Rollet's tidings are as yet buried in breasts of two within this realm, but *Maddye* telleth us many news. The mess shall up ; the Bishop of Glasgow and Abbot of Dunfermline come as ambassadors from the General Council. My Lord Bothwell shall follow with power to put in execution whatsoever is demanded and our sovereign will have done, and then shall Knox and his preaching be pulled by the ears. Thus with us raves *Maddye* every day, but hereupon I greatly pause not. The Earl of Lennox servant is familiarly in court ; and it is supposed that it is not without knowledge, yea, and labour, of your court. Some in this country look for the lady and the young earl or it be long : it is whispered to me that license is already procured for their hithercoming. God's providence is inscrutable to man before the issue of such things as are kept close for a season in his council ; *but, to be plain with you, that journey and progress I like not.* The Q. maj : remains at St Johnston, as I hear, yet eight days, yea, and perchance longer : as for Edinburgh, it likes the ladies nothing. In these last ships from France and Flanders, I have received some news, and some are coming ; certain of the salt-maker's labourers are arrived with mattocks, schooles, and certain other instruments ; more are looked for : I fear their traffic shall be to make salt upon salt. Divine what I mean. I hear, of credible report, and that of such as are privy in the court of France, that the journey of Loraine goes forward. Letters I received dated in * * * in Champagne, assuring that the king was so far in journey, if other impediments occurred not. The Papists of France (of Paris especially) threaten destruction to all Protestants. The Germans, almost in every city and province, amass men of war, and no man can tell at whose devotion. If ye know, I am content : if not, my counsel is you look to it. Two barges, in form and fashion like hoy, came in our Firth, abone [above] the Inch, and viewed all places, Sunday and Monday last. They sailed from land to land, round about the Inch, but would suffer no man to enter in them ; and so are departed. Our Solan geese use to vesey [inspect] the Bass before the great company take possession : I say yet again, take heed. I hear (but not of certainty) that Sweden will yet visit us with an ambassador. I pray you yet again salute my Lord of Bedford, of whose good mind towards me I never doubted, and say to his lordship, that I think I shall have as great need of comfort ere it be long, as that I had when his L. and I last parted in London, if God put not end to my battle shortly ; for here wanton and wicked will empires, as it were, above wisdom and virtue : God send remedy. And thus ye know a part of my mind ; and yet, if I were not I would trouble you longer. My purpose is, if God permit, to be in Langton the 3d Sunday of May.

You may appoint the place, and I will meet you ; whom the Eternal preserve. Of Edinburgh, the 3d of this present (or instant) 1564.

“ Salute in my name Mr —— and the Italian, to whom great business suffers me not to write.

“ Yours, to his power,
“ JOHN KNOX.”

No. XV.

Historical Remarks on Knox's Implication in Riccio's Murder, page 336.

It has long been known, that some of the principal supporters of the Protestant cause in Scotland were implicated in the assassination of Riccio ; but it has hitherto been believed that their great ecclesiastical leader, Knox, was not privy to this murder. From the language in which the event is told in his History, it might be inferred, indeed, that he did not condemn the assassination of one whom he regarded as a bitter enemy to the truth.¹ “ After this manner above specified,” says he, “ to wit, by the death of David Rizzio, the noblemen were relieved of their trouble, and restored to their places and rowmes,² and likewise the Church reformed, and all that professed the Evangel within this realm, after fasting and prayer, were delivered :” but in weighing this passage, it is to be remembered that, although the Fifth Book of Knox's History was probably composed from notes and collections left by the Reformer, it was not written by him.³ The late Dr M'Crie, his excellent biographer, has this sentence upon the subject, which, from the authority deservedly attached to his Life of Knox, may be taken as the present popular belief upon the point :—“ There is no reason to think that he [Knox] was privy to the conspiracy which proved fatal to Riccio ; but it is probable that he had expressed his satisfaction at an event which contributed to the safety of religion and of the commonwealth, if not also his approbation of the conduct of the conspirators.”⁴

As Dr M'Crie had not the advantage of consulting those letters upon this subject, which I have found in the State-paper Office, and by which the whole secret history of the conspiracy against Riccio has been developed, we are not to wonder that he should have spoken so decisively of Knox's innocence of any previous knowledge of the plot. I shall now state, as clearly as I can, the evidence upon which I have

¹ Knox's History, p. 344.

² Offices.

³ M'Crie's Life of Knox by Dr Crichton, pp. 250, 416, and Prefatory Notice to Bannatyne's Memorials, p. 20.

⁴ Life of Knox, p. 253, edited by Dr Crichton.

affirmed in the text that he was cognizant of the intended murder, adding, at the same time, some letters which may be quoted in his defence.

The reader is already aware that Riccio was assassinated on the 9th of March, 1565-6 ; that Ruthven, Morton, and Lethington, fled on the queen's escape and meditated advance to Edinburgh, (March 18th;) and that, while other accomplices secreted themselves in Scotland, Morton and Ruthven took refuge in England. Such being the state of things, on the 21st of March, the Earl of Bedford, then at Berwick, of which he was governor, thus wrote to Cecil :—

“ You shall understand that the Lord Ruthven is come hither for his own safety, who, passing through Tiviotdale, came to Wark castle, and being troubled with sickness, and therefore weak, tarried the longer upon the way thence, afore he came here. I received him, (as I have learned that the ancient order is in like cases,) and so mean to do such other as shall for like purpose come. He keepeth most commonly his bed for that small time that he hath as yet tarried here, and therefore is not so likely to depart hence of some good time.

“ The Earl Morton is gone towards Carlisle, and from thence will take his way towards Newcastle, and so hitherward for some time, to talk with the Lord Ruthven. The Lord Lindsay and the Laird of Liddington are both gone to the Earl of Athole for their safeguard : Liddington, as I hear, will come hither if by any means he can, whereof, as it cometh to pass, you shall further understand.

“ The Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, have received their dress,¹ and so are in quiet, or, at the least, in hope they shall be quiet. The Earl of Moray, the Lairds of Grange and Patarro, and the Tutor of Pitcur, have refused the like dress as the other have received, seeming thereby the less willing to receive the dress offered them, for that these lords their friends were excluded out of the favour and pardon, and so hardly put at ; yet it is thought they will receive it, for so in any wise have these lords now abroad desired them.

“ Their king remaineth utter enemy to these lords now abroad, notwithstanding his former doings with them. Hereof, and for that Mr Randolph *writeth also more at large of the names of such as now be gone abroad*, I shall not trouble you therewith.² * * *

This letter was written from Berwick eleven days after the murder, and about a week after the flight of the conspirators, here called “ those that be gone abroad ;” and we see that, in the last sentence, Bedford mentions to Cecil, that he will not trouble him with any

¹ Pardon.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Bedford to Cecil, Berwick, this 21st March, 1565.

farther details, as Mr Randolph was at that very time writing to him, and would send in his letter the names of the conspirators who had gone abroad.

This letter of Randolph is, accordingly, in the State-paper Office, and pinned to it I found the promised list of names.¹ I shall first give the letter, and then the "list." The letter, which is addressed to Cecil, is wholly in Randolph's hand ; the list is in the hand of a clerk who, I find, at that time was employed by Bedford in his confidential correspondence. The letter, which is addressed to Cecil, is as follows :—

RANDOLPH TO CECIL.

"*Berwick, 21st March, 1565-6.*

" May it please your honour,

" Since Mr Carew's departure hence, this hath happened. The queen, to be revenged upon the lords that gave the last attemptate and slew David, is content to remit unto the former lords, with whom she was so grievously offended, all that they had done at any time against her ; who, seeing now their liberty and restitution offered unto them, were all content, saving my Lord of Moray, to leave the other lords that were the occasion of their return, and took several appointment as they could get it, of which the first was the Earl of Glencairn, next Rothes, Argyle, and so every one after other, saving, as I said, my Lord of Moray, with him Patarro and Grayne [Grange,] who, standing so much upon their honours and promise, will not leave the other, without some likelihood to do them good.

" The lords of the last attemptate, which were these :—Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and Leddington, finding these men fall from them, whom they trusted so much in, and for whose cause they had so far ventured themselves, found it best to save themselves in time ; and, therefore, upon Sunday last,² every one of the four above named departed their several way : my Lord of Morton towards the west borders, my Lord Ruthven through Tividale, and so came to Wark, and yesterday to this town ; the Lord Lindsay into Fife, Liddington to Athole, to my L. there, either to be saved by him, or to purchase his pardon of the Q. which is thought will be so hard as may be, and therefore is he looked for very shortly to be in this country, if he can escape.

" Besides these that were the principal takers in hand of this matter, there are also these :—the Laird of Ormiston, Hawton his son-in-law, Cawder his nephew, Brunston, Whyttingham, Andrew Car of Fawl-

¹ This list is now bound up with the volume. See the handwriting of letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Bedford to Cecil, 27th March, 1568.

² i. e. Sunday, 17th March

syde, Justice-clerk brother, George Douglas, and some other ; of the town of Edinburgh divers : so that, as I judge, there are as many like to take hurt in this action, as were in the former. What is become of any of these I know not as yet, saving Andrew Car, that came to this town with the L. Ruthven and his son.

" The Q. upon Monday last¹ returned to Edinburgh. In her company the Earls Bothwell, Huntley, Marshal, Hume, Seton, with as many as there [they] were able to bring with them. Where she was wont to be carried in a chair by four of her guard, she is yet able to ride upon a horse, though by her own account she hath not six weeks to her time. She lodgeth not in the abbey, but in a house in the town in the High Street. Her husband hath disclosed all that he knew of any man ; and yet hath given his hand, and subscribed divers bands and writings, testifying that to be his own deed, and done by his commandment. It is said that he gave him one blow himself ; and, to signify that the deed was his, his dagger was left standing in his body after he was dead. Their mind was to have hanged him, but because business rose in the court between the Earl Bothwell and such as were appointed to keep the house, they went the next way to work with him. * * * At Berwick, the 21st March, 1565."

This letter explains itself, and needs no comment. The list of the names, which was pinned to it, is as follows. It bears this endorsement in the hand of Cecil's clerk,

" Martii, 1565.

" Names of such as were consenting to the death of David.

" THE EARL MORTON.

LOCHLEVEN.

THE L. RUTHVEN.

ELPHINSTON.

THE L. LINDSAY.

PATRICK MURRAY.

THE SECRETARY.

PATRICK BALLANTYNE,

THE MR OF RUTHVEN,

GEORGE DOUGLAS,

LAIRDS

ANDREW CAR OF FAWDONSIDE.

ORMISTON.

JOHN KNOX, } Preachers."²

BRUNSTON.

JOHN CRAIG,

HAUGHTON.

¹ i. e. Monday, 18th March.

² Spelt thus in original :—

TH' ERLE MURTON.

LOUGHLYVINE.

THE L. RYVEN.

ELVINGSTON.

THE L. LYNNSEY.

PATRICK MURRY.

THE SECREATORY.

PATRICK BALLENTYNE.

THE MR OF RYVEN.

GEORGE DUGLAS.

LARDS

ANDRO KAR OF FAWDONSIDE.

ORMESTON.

JOHN KNOX,

BRYANSTON.

{ Preachers.

HAUGHTON.

JOHN Crag,

" All these were at the death of Davy and privy thereunto, and are now in displeasure with the Q. and their houses taken and spoiled."¹

The inference from all this seems to me inevitable ; namely, that, in an authentic list sent to Secretary Cecil by Bedford and Randolph, the name of John Knox is given as one of those who were privy and consenting to the death of David Riccio. Now that these two persons, the Earl of Bedford and Randolph, were intimately acquainted with the whole details of the conspiracy, has been proved in the text.² To the proof there given I shall merely add part of a letter of Bedford to Cecil, written, it is to be observed, on the 11th of March, the unhappy man having been murdered on the evening of the 9th of March.

" After my hearty commendations—yesterday, in the morning, the Earl of Moray and the other lords, and the rest, entered into Scotland, and went that night to Edinburgh. * * These lords make account to find great aid in Scotland, so as shortly things will fall out in more open sort than as yet, whereof from time to time you shall be advertised. * * Since the writing hitherto, certain advertisement is come that David is despatched and dead. That it should be so you have heard before. The manner and circumstances thereof I will not now trouble you withal. By my next I hope I shall have somewhat else to say, and then will I write more at large. * *

" F. BEDFORD."

" From Berwick this 11th March, 1565."

The evidence, therefore, is direct and clear, and comes from those who must be esteemed the best witnesses in such a case. But there are other circumstances which strongly corroborate it, as far as Knox is concerned. The Reformer was then the great leader and adviser of the party of the Kirk : Riccio was regarded as its bitter enemy, an opponent of God, an oppressor and tyrant over God's people ; and we know that Knox conceived it lawful for private individuals to put such persons to death, provided all redress in the ordinary course of justice was rendered impossible.⁴ " The truth is," says Dr M'Crie, in his reflections upon the death of Beaton, " he [Knox] held the opinion, that persons who, by the commission of flagrant crimes, had

¹ It is certain that this cannot mean, that all whose names are to be found in this list were personally present at the act of the murder ; it should be understood to mean that " all these were at the murder of Davy or privy thereto."

² See p. 339, *et seq.*

³ M'Crie's Life of Knox, by Dr Crichton, p. 253.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 25, 101, 171, 242.

forfeited their lives, according to the law of God, and the just laws of society, such as notorious murderers and tyrants, might warrantably be put to death by private individuals, provided all redress in the ordinary course of justice was rendered impossible, in consequence of the offenders having usurped the executive authority, or being systematically protected by oppressive rulers."¹

Now, keeping this in mind, we find Morton and Ruthven, the leading conspirators, informing Cecil, in a letter from Berwick, written on the 27th March, that the great end proposed by them in the murder of Riccio, was to prevent the universal subversion of religion within Scotland; and they add this remarkable sentence, "and to the execution of the said enterprise, the most honest and most worthy were easily induced to approve, and fortify the king's deliberation in the premises; howbeit, in action and manner of execution, more were followed of the king's advice, kindled by an extreme choler, than we deliberated to have done."² Who, then, were these persons named here "the most honest and most worthy?" Evidently none else than the heads of the Protestant party, Morton and Ruthven, Lethington, Lindsay, and Ochiltree, the Barons of Ormiston, Brunston, Calder, Hatton, Lochleven, and others in Scotland, with Cecil himself, and Bedford and Randolph, the great supporters of the Protestant cause in England; and here it is to be noted, that these Barons of Ormiston, Brunston, Calder, and Hatton, were dear and intimate personal friends of Knox, whilst Ochiltree was his father-in-law. The Reformer, also, as we have seen, was the confidential correspondent of Bedford and Cecil, the associate in the common cause for the support of religion with Morton and Lethington, and undoubtedly the most powerful and influential of all the ministers or leaders of the Kirk. If called upon, therefore, to believe that the list which implicates him is a forged document, and that he had no foreknowledge of the murder of Riccio, we are to believe, that in a plot formed by the party of which he was the leader, in which all his friends were implicated, the object of which was to support that form of faith which was dearer to him than life, by the commission of an act, of which, from his avowed principles, they knew that he would not disapprove,³—they studiously declined his assistance, concealed all that was to happen, and preferred, for

¹ M'Crie's Life of Knox, by Dr Crichton, p. 27.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, 27th March, 1565, Morton and Ruthven to Cecil.

³ Dr M'Crie, in noticing Knox's flight from Edinburgh, after the murder, states, that "it is probable he had expressed his satisfaction at an event which contributed to the safety of religion and the commonwealth, if not also his approbation of the conduct of the conspirators." M'Crie's Life of Knox, by Dr Crichton, pp. 253, 254.

the first time in their lives, to act without him. This supposition seems to me, I confess, untenable; and when I find Bedford and Randolph transmitting his name as one of the conspirators to Cecil, I cannot escape from giving credit to their assertion.

Another corroboration of his accession to this conspiracy was his precipitate flight from Edinburgh with the rest of the conspirators, upon the threatened advance of the queen to the city. His colleague Craig, it is to be observed, who was afterwards accused by his parishioners as being too much a favourer of the queen, remained in the city; but Knox fled precipitately, and in extreme agony of spirit, to Kyle; and, as we have already seen, did not venture to return till the noblemen rose against the queen after the death of Darnley.¹ If he was not implicated, why did he take guilt to himself by flight?

There is a passage to be found in the manuscript history of Calderwood, which is worth noticing upon this point. It has been quoted by Dr M'Crie,² and is as follows: "King James the Sixth, having found great fault with Knox for approving of the assassination of Riccio, one of the ministers said, that the slaughter of David, as far as it was the work of God, *was allowed by Mr Knox*, and not otherwise."³ "Knox himself," adds Dr M'Crie, "does not make this qualification, when he mentions the subject incidentally." It is not clear, however, whether this sentence refers to Knox's allowance, or approval of the murder before or after the deed. It is, lastly, to be remembered that Riccio was a Roman Catholic, consequently, in Knox's eyes an idolater; and that the Reformer and his party held, that idolatry might justly be punishable by death. "Into this sentiment they were led," says Dr M'Crie, "in consequence of their having adopted the untenable opinion, that the judicial laws given to the Jewish nation were binding upon Christian nations, as to all offences against the moral law."⁴

Such is the evidence which appears to me conclusive in support of the fact stated in the text. Let me now mention two circumstances which may be quoted in defence of Knox, and in proof of his innocence of this charge.

The first list, including Knox's name as one privy to Riccio's death, is, as we have seen, preserved in the State-paper Office, attached to a letter, dated 21st March. But there is another list in the British Museum, dated the 27th of March, which does not include the Refor-

¹ See his prayer added to his Answer to Tyrie, quoted in M'Crie's Life, Note G to period 8th.

² M'Crie's Life of Knox, by Dr Crichton, p. 254.

³ Calderwood, MS. ad annum 1591.

⁴ M'Crie's Life of Knox, by Dr Crichton, p. 246.

mer's name, or that of Craig his colleague. It is in the handwriting of Randolph, and is entitled, "The names of such as were doers, and of council, in the late attempt for the killing of the secretary David at Edinburgh, 9th March, 1566 ; as contained in the account sent to the Council of England, by the Earl of Bedford, lieutenant of the north, and Sir Thomas Randolph, ambassador from England to Scotland at the time, dated at Berwick, 27th March, 1566." This account, or letter of the 27th of March, has been printed from the original in the Cotton collection,¹ by Sir Henry Ellis, vol. ii. p. 207, along with the list of the names.

The second circumstance is this : when Morton and Ruthven fled to Berwick, and sent to Bedford a vindication of their proceedings, with the intent that he should communicate it to Cecil and Elizabeth, they positively denied that any of the ministers of Scotland were art and part in the conspiracy, and accused the Papists of having raised the report. "It is come to our knowledge (they say) that some Papists have bruited that these our proceedings have been at the instigation of the ministers of Scotland. We assure your lordship, upon our honour, that there were none of them art nor part of that deed, nor were participate thereof."²

And now it may be asked, Why do you reject the evidence of this second list, and why are we not to believe this solemn declaration absolving the ministers of Scotland, and of course Knox with them, from all participation in the murder? To this I answer, that there is no evidence to raise doubt that the list given on the 21st March was written in good faith, while the event was yet new, after the arrival of Lord Ruthven, and without any object but that of transmitting information to *Cecil*; while that of the 27th March, *sent to the council of England*, was carefully prepared after the failure of the conspiracy by the escape of the queen, and when the cautious and politic Morton had reached Berwick. That these lords would have an especial object in keeping the names of Knox and Craig out of the list is evidenced by the above extract, and that they would have little scruple to such a suppression is clear from the manner in which they submit their narrative to *Cecil*, to be amended and qualified at his pleasure. That the Secretary of *Elizabeth* did modify and recast the story after the failure of the conspiracy, and with the approbation, or by the directions of *Elizabeth*, is expressly asserted by one who appears to have had an intimate acquaintance with the whole plot against Riccio. "La

¹ *Caligula*, B. x. fol. 337.

² Harleian, No. 289. fol. 96, endorsed in *Cecil's* handwriting, "Copy of Instructions to my Lord of Bedford, from the Lords of Morton and Rewhen, [Ruthven,] 1566." This date of the year is not in *Cecil's* hand.

Regina d'Inghilterra," says he, "quale era stata causa del tutto, intendendo la pace fra il Re e Regina di Scotia, s'attristo molto e fece scrivere per il suo Secretario Cecille, per tutto il regno, che la causa di tutto il suddetto, era perche il Re haveva trovato il detto Ricciolo a dormire con la Regina. Il che non fu mai vero."¹ The extent to which this modification and alteration was not only permitted, but invited, to be carried, may be gathered from a passage in a letter of Morton and Ruthven to Secretary Cecil, sending him their account of the conspiracy and murder.² "If [say they, alluding to their enclosed narrative] there be any thing that be hardly written, that might have been *couthit*³ in gentler terms, we will most humbly request your honour to *supply us therein, to amend and qualify as your wisdom thinks good, any thing that you think extreme or rudely handled.*"—It is our meaning, after the return of your honour's answer *with this copy corrected*, if so you find good, to send copies of that matter in France, Scotland, and such other places needful, as shall be thought necessary for staying of false and untrue reports and rumours." And lastly, it is quite evident, from a passage in Bedford's and Randolph's letter of the 27th March, giving the account of the murder, and sending the list of the names, that the chief authorities consulted, for both account and list, were Morton and Ruthven, whose object it was to suppress the names of the ministers which appeared in the first list.⁴

So far then as to the preference given of the first list to the second; but then comes the question, Why not believe Morton, when he states, upon his word of honour, that none of the ministers of Scotland were art and part of that deed? I answer, because, according to Morton's notions, being art and part, or participate in any action or crime, was a totally different thing from being privy to it, or cognizant of it before it was committed. Morton, according to the distinction which he made on his own trial, might have asserted with perfect honour, that neither Knox nor any of the ministers were participate in Riccio's murder; and yet he may have been perfectly aware that Knox was privy to the murder, knew that it was about to be committed, and, according to the expression used to the king by one of their number, allowed of

¹ Avvisi di Scotia, See postea, p. 509.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, Morton and Ruthven to Cecil, Berwick, 2d April, 1566. Endorsed by Cecil's clerk, "Earl Morton and Lord Ruthven to my Mr, with the Discourse touching the killing of David."

³ Expressed.

⁴ Bedford and Randolph say, "Having conferred the reports from abroad, which came to our knowledge, with the sayings of those noblemen, the *Lord Morton, and the Lord Ruthven that are present*, and of them all, that which we have found nearest to the truth, or, as we believe, the truth itself, have here put them in writing." 27th March, 1566.—Ellis, vol. ii.

it, that is, gave a silent consent to it, so far as he considered it to be the work of God, for the destruction of an enemy of the truth and an idolater. I say confidently, Morton made this distinction, because he tells us so himself in his own trial and subsequent confession. "When," says Spottiswood,¹ "the Earl of Montrose, Chancellor of the Assize, declared him [Morton] convicted of counsel, concealing, and being art and part of the king's murther, at these last words he showed himself much grieved, and beating the ground once or twice with a little staff he carried in his hand, said, '*Art and part, art and part! God knoweth the contrary.*'"—"Then it was said to him, Apparently, my Lord, ye cannot justly complain of the sentence that is given against you, seeing that with your own mouth ye confess the foreknowledge and concealing of the king's murder.—He answered, I know that to be true, indeed; but yet they should have considered the danger that the revealing it would have brought to me at that time. * * And howbeit they have condemned me of art and part, foreknowledge, and concealing of the king's murder, yet as I shall answer to God, *I never had art or part, red or counsel, in that matter. I foreknew, indeed, and concealed it*, because I durst not reveal it to any creature for my life."²

It is perfectly clear, therefore, that Morton's declaration, that none of the ministers of Scotland were art and part of Riccio's murder, does not necessarily imply any declaration that Knox had not a foreknowledge of the murder; on the contrary, it is quite consistent with his having known it, and, according to the term used by one of his brethren to James, allowed of it.³

No. XVI.

Plot of Lennox and Darnley against Mary's Crown and Life, page 334.

In the letter from Randolph to the Earl of Leicester, which is quoted in the text, p. 334, the reader is aware that he alludes darkly to a plot of the king, and the Earl of Lennox his father, to deprive the queen of her crown, perhaps of her liberty and life. "I know," says he, "these practices in hand contrived between the father and son to come by the crown against her will. * * I know, that if that take effect which is intended, David shall have his throat cut within these ten days. *Many thinges grievouser and worse than these are brought to my ears, yea, of things intended against her own person, which, because I think it better to keep secret than write to Mr Secretary, I speak not of them but now to your lordship.*"

¹ Spottiswood, p. 313.

² Bannatyne's Memorials, p. 319.

³ M'Crie's Life of Knox, by Dr Crichton, p. 254.

It is of great importance, in the question of Mary's guilt or innocence, to ascertain the truth of the existence of such a plot against her crown and life by her husband the king, and his father; and I have found amongst the valuable collections of Prince Labanoff, a paper copied from the archives of the house of Medici, which strongly corroborates it. I give it here with kind permission. It is thus entitled :—

**“AVVISI DI SCOTIA, DELLI 11, 13, & 28, DI MARZO, 1566.
SOPRA GLI ANDAMENTI DI QUEL REGNO.**

“Li Ribelli di Scotia che stavano in Inghilterra, col consenso del nove Re di Scotia ritornorno a casa loro, e trattavano co il Re suddetto di darli la Corona hereditale, accio che lui restasse Re assoluto, ancora che la Regina morisse senza figlioli.

“Detto Re persuadendosi simil fatto, consentiva alla morte della *Regina sua moglie*, e già aveva consentito alla *Morte De David Riccio lo Secretario de detta Regina*, et lei aveva fatto riserrar in una camera, con guardia d'Heretici, accio che li Cattolici non la potessero soccorrere, e fra tanto attendevano detti Hereteci, a far che il stato tutto consentisse alla incoronazione di detto Re, et alla privazione del Governo di detta Regina. Al che non consentendo il Pòpulo, e avendo il Re la mala persuasione fatta a gli da quelli tristi ribaldi, si pente dell' errore, e seno ando dalla Regina, alla quale dopo averla salutata amorevolmente raconto tutto il successo, e gl'adimando perdona del animo suo tristo hauto contra di lei, la quale con piu buon animo, e lieta fronte che puote lo ricevette, dicendoli che non credeva che egli havesse mai hauto simile intentione contra di lei, et che se forse fosse incorso in qualche mancamento di fede, che pregava Iddio gli perdonasse, et lei non solamente gli perdonava ma etiam perdonava a tutti gli altri, che la persecutavano, e così subito tutti due si raconsiliorno et cercorono via di salvarsi.

“Stando il Re con la Regina gli Heretici credevano che lui tratasse, accioche lei sotto scrivesse certi Capitole che essi adimandavano sopra la perdonanza, et retributione de suoi beni, il che dicendo il Re alla Regina che cosi aveva promesso di fare, lei subito diede modo al Re, che se ritorniasse da loro con dirgli, che la Regina voleva fare ogni cosa, che a dimandavano, e così se ne ando il Re da essi heretici et lettoli il proposito che fu da loro creduto, gli exorto a mettere la Regina in libertà, promettendo lui di guardarla, che non potesse fuggire, al che loro per compiacere al Re consentivono, e se ne partirono lasciando la Regina in mano del Re suo marito.

“Parliti gli heretici, il Re e la Regina mandorono subito per un Capitano loro confidente, il quale vinne con buon numero di soldati

Catolici per una parte segreta, che non furono veduti dalli inimici, e gionte da loro maestra se ne fuggirono, a una Fortezza chiamata Don Bar, dove arrivarono al alba del giorno, et ivi aspettarono il soccorso di nove mille fanti Cattolici, con quali andorono contra detti Ribelli; et gli schacciarono di quel suo Regno, et sono ritornati detti Heretici in Inghilterra.

“Ritorname il Re et la Regina a Lisleborgo, dove successe il suddetto, fecero tagliar la testa a cinque principali di quella Citta authori et inventori di simile impresa.

“La Regina d’Inghilterra, quale era stata causa del tutto intendendo la pace fra il Re et Regina di Scotia, s’attristò molto et fece scrivere per il suo Secretario Cecille, per tutto il Regno, che la causa di tutto il suddetto, era perche il Re haveva trovato il detto Ricciolo a dormire con la Regina—il che non fu mai vero.”¹ * * *

It is evident that these Advices from Scotland were given by a person on the spot, and intimately acquainted with the object and circumstances of the plot against Riccio ; and the statement it contains, of Darnley’s consent to the queen’s death, is of great importance—for this fact once admitted, and discovered by Mary, her position, in reference to a husband whom she knew had plotted against her own life, was materially altered.

No. XVII.

Joseph Riccio and Joseph Lutyni, page 376.

Joseph Riccio, the brother of David Riccio, came into Scotland with Monsieur de Mauvissiere early in April 1566 :² on the 28th April he was made secretary in his brother’s place ; and on the 20th June, Drury informed Cecil that he was growing apace into favour. Joseph Lutyni was a gentleman in the Scottish queen’s service, an intimate friend of Joseph Riccio.³

On the 23d January 1566-7, Sir William Drury addressed the following letter to Cecil :—

DRURY TO CECIL.

“ Berwick, January 23, 1566.

“ Right Honourable,—As this bearer, Mr Throckmorton, hath, by some necessary business of his own, occasion to repair to the court,

¹ Filza 3 de Carteggio e affari con la Corte d’Inghilterra. Collated and certified by the Archivista, G. Tanfani.

² MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, April 20, 1566.

³ Ibid. June 20, 1566.

so have I something not unmeet to advertise, which is, that at my arrival here, my Lord of Bedford being departed, I found here one Joseph [Lutyni] an Italian, and a gentleman who had served the Queen of Scots, and despatched with her good favour and license towards France, about certain of her grace's affairs, as by the copy of his passport, accompanied herewith, may appear ; who taking this town in his way, through weak constitution of health, made his stay here for his better recovery ; in which meantime I received a letter from the Queen of Scots, purporting a request to apprehend and stay him, for that he had, against the laws, taken goods and money from some of his fellows, as by the copy of the letter sent herewith your honour may be informed at length, which since, as appeareth by one that pursueth him, the queen's tailor, is but upon some old reckoning between them ; and therefore giveth me to think, by that I can gather as well of the matter as of the gentleman, that it is not it that the queen seeketh so much as to recover his person. For, as I have learned, the man had credit there ; and now the queen mistrusteth lest he should offer his service here in England, and thereby might, with better occasion, utter something either prejudicial to her, or that she would be loath should be disclosed but to those she pleaseth. Whereupon I have thought good to stay the man till such time as the queen's majesty's pleasure, or my lords of the council, be signified unto me, which the sooner it be, the more shall the poor stranger be eased.

"The occurrents are,—the Lord Darly lyeth sick at Glasgo of the small pocks, unto whom the queen came yesterday : that disease beginneth to spread there. The Lord Morton lyeth at the Lord of Whytinghames, where the Lord Bodwell and Ledington came of late to visit. He standeth in good terms for his peace. Here we look for Ledington or Melvyn very shortly to repair. This evening arrived here the ambassador of Savoy, Monsieur de Morett. The return this way of Monsieur le Croc, is also looked for here. Thus, having nothing farther to trouble your honour, I humbly take my leave. From Berwick this 23d January, 1566.¹

"WILLIAM DRURY."

Endorsed by Cecil's clerk, "Mr Drury marshal of Berwick, to my Mr. _____ 23d January, 1566."

We hear no more of this Italian till the 7th February, 1566-7, when Drury wrote as follows to Cecil on the subject.

¹ State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil.

DRURY TO CECIL.

"Berwick, February 7, 1566-7.

"It may please your honour to be advertised.—This day, immediately after my letter despatched to the L. Lethington, in answer of one of the queen's and another of his tending both to one effect, for the delivery of the Italian, Joseph, the very copy whereof I send here-with, I received even then one from your H. of the last of January, mentioning some direction of answer concerning the said Italian." Drury proceeds to state, that he had not been able to find out from the stranger any matter of much moment. He then adds, "He (the Italian) doubteth much danger ; and so affirmeth unto me, that if he return, he utterly despaireth of any better speed than a prepared death."¹

On the 19th of February, 1566-7, Drury again thus wrote touching the same Italian to Cecil.

DRURY TO CECIL.

"Berwick, February 19, 1566-7.

"It may please your H. to be advertised, that I have received your letter of the 13th the 18th of this present, I having before returned the Italian to the queen, sending a gentleman with him, as well to see him safely delivered unto her as to put the L. of Ledington in mind both of the queen's promise, whereof I doubted not, as of his own, that, satisfying the debt, he should be in safety returned or restored to his liberty."² * * * *

Lastly, on the 28th February, 1566-7, Drury addressed a letter to Cecil, giving in its first paragraph, which follows, the sequel of the Italian's story, his return to Scotland, his examination by Bothwell, and his courteous dismissal.

DRURY TO CECIL.

"It may please your honour to be advertised, that the Italian here stayd, which the Queen of Scots by her letters required, I did send him unto her by a lieutenant of this garrison. She saw him not, but caused the Earl Bodwell to deal with him, who offered him fair speech to have him to tarry, which he would not yield unto ; he satisfied such debt as the tailor could demand of him, others demanding of him nothing. The queen willed to give him 30 crowns, and hath returned him again unto me, who minds to-morrow to take his journey

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. Drury to Cecil, 7th Feb. 1566-7.

² Ibid. B.C. Feb. 19, 1566-7.

towards London, very well contented, as he seemeth, to have left Scotland.”¹ * * *

Having thus given all the letters which relate to this obscure matter, in order that the reader may form his own opinion, I conclude this note by the letter of Joseph Riccio to Joseph Lutyni, the Italian in question, part of which has been quoted in the text. It is endorsed by Cecil thus, “*Joseph Riccio, the Queen of Scots’ servant.*”

JOSEPH RICCIO TO JOSEPH LUTYNI.

“SIGNOR JOSEPH,

“Io ho ditto a la Regina e a Thimoteo che voi m'havete portato via i miei denari, e la causa che io lo ditto e per quel, che voi intenderete.

“Quando noi fumo tornati di Starlino Thimoteo domando dove erano i vostri cavalli e le vostre robbe. Io li dissi che le vostre robbe erano drento il vostro coffano, e Lorenzo Cagnoli li disse che voi havevi portato tutto con voi, insieme coni vostri cavalli, e che voi l'havete ditto, ‘io ho bene abuzato il segretario perche pensa che le miei robbe siano drento il mio coffano, ma non ve nienté.’

“Quando Thimoteo intese questo comincio a dire, ‘Così m'havete abuzato, Mr Segretario, la regina me ne fara la’ ragione,’ e così trova Bastia e lo fa dire a la Regina, ch’io l’havevo assicurato, che voi eri andato per suoi affari, e che su quello m’haveva prestato cento scudi, e tutti comincioro a dire che li era qualche cattivaria, e chio la sapeva e che voi havevi buttato le mani nelli pappieri della Regina; e io, che non voleva esser suspensionato, comincio a dire che voi m’havevi portato via sei Portoghesi, e cinque nobili, e che m’havete promisso di mi lassare i vostri cavalli, e la Regina subbito mi dimanda ‘Dove sono i miei braccialetti?’ e io li dissi che voi li havevi portati conesso voi, e che erano drento la borsa con i miei denari, e Bastia comincia a dire che voi li dovevi sesanta franchi, e cominciano a dire tutti, bisogna mandarli appresso, e fanno tanto, che la Regina comanda a Ledinton di fare una lettera per vi fare arrestare per camino.

“In questo mezo, Monsieur di Moretta e arrivato qui, il quale dice che voi li havete ditto, che io ero causa, che voi fate questo viaggio. —Pigliate guardia come voi havete parlato, perche se voi dite per quello che andavi, noi saremo tutti dui in gran pena. Io ho sempre ditto che voi eri andato per pigliar denari, e per lassar passar la collera della regina che l’haveva contra di voi, e chio vi haveva consigliato cosi, e chio vi haveva prestato denari per far questo viaggio, la somma di sesanta scudi e due Portoghesi, perche ancora voi potrete dir cosi,

¹ MS. letter, State-paper Office, B.C. 28th February, 1566-7.

e io o ditto che i denari che voi m'havete portato, per che voi me li avette reai quando voi fussi tornato di francia; e cosi voi et io saremo tutti due scusati. E se voi fate altramente voi sarete causa della mia riuina, e penso che voi non mi vorreste vedere in riuina. Per l'amor di dio fate come s'io fossi vostro figluolo, e vi prego per l'amor di dio e della buona amisitia che voi m'havete portata et io a voi, di dire come io vi mando, coe di fare questo viaggio per ritirare i vostri denari, e per lassar passar la collera a la Regina, e la soospicio che ella haveva di voi, e che i denari che io o ditto che voi m'havete pigliato, che voi l'havete pigliati per paura che nonvene mancasse per fare il vostro viaggio, e che voi me li haveste resi quando voi fussi tornato, e che non bisognava che io v'havessi fatto un tal brutto,¹ e che voi sete homo da bene, e che non li vorreste haver pigliati, sensa rendermeli, a causa che io ero tanto vostro compagno, voi non havette mai pensato che io ne havesse fatto un tal brutto. Et vi prego di non volere esser causa della mia riuina, e se voi dite cosi come vi mando sarete scusato, e io ancora.

“ La regina vi manda ci pigliare, per parlar; con voi pigliate guardia a voi, che voi la conoscete, pigliate guardia che non v'abbazi delle sue parole, come voi sapete bene; e m'ha detto che vuol parlare a voi in segreto, e pigliate guardia dell'i dire come vi ho scritto, e non altramente, a fin che nostra parola, si confronti l'una e l'altra, e ne voi ne io non saremo in pena nessuna, e vi prego di fare quanto v'ho scritto e non altramente. Fatemi intendere innanzi che voi siete qui, la vostra volontà, et vi prego de haver pieta di me e non voler esser causa della mia morte, e facendo come io vi mando non sarete niente in pena ne io ancora, e io vene saro sempre obligato, e troverete chio lo conoscero d'una maniera, che voi vene contenterete di me, e vi prego di mi volere scrivere quello che voi volete dire, a fin che io non sia piu in questa pena che io sono innanzi che voi arivate qui, per homo expressa.

“ Altra cosa non vo da scrivere per adesso, perche velo diro quando sarete qui, e vi prego di haver pieta di me, e di voi, perche se voi dite altramente di quel che io v'ho scritto, sarete in pena si ben come me.

“ Pregando dio che vi dia contentezza di ed lilemburgh questa domenica.

“ Vro come buon fratello,

“ JOSEPH RICCI.

“ Vi prego di brugiar la littera appresso che voi l'havete letta.”²

¹ Sic in original.

² State-paper Office. The letter is thus endorsed in Cecil's hand, “Joseph Riccio the Queen of Scots' servant.”

No. XVIII.

Darnley's Murder, page 384.

I have stated the fact of the king having been strangled, and have added some new particulars regarding the murder, not only on the authority of a letter of Drury to Cecil, but from what I consider a still more unexceptionable piece of evidence, the assertion of Morett the Savoy ambassador, who was on the spot, and had an opportunity of making himself acquainted with all the circumstances. As this point has been controverted, and some obscurity still hangs over the mode in which the murder was completed, I am happy to be able to publish the following curious and authentic extract from a letter dated at Paris, 16th March, 1567. It forms part of the collections of Prince Labanoff, the original being amongst the Medici papers, to which the prince had access. The letter was written by the papal nuncio at Paris to the grand duke; and after stating the arrival of Father Edmonds and Monsieur de Morett, the ambassador, at Paris, with some other particulars which I need not mention, it proceeds thus:—

“ Quanto al particular della morte du quel Re, il detto Signor di Moretta ha ferma opinione, che quel povero Principe, sentendo il rumore delle genti che attorniavano la casa, e tentavano con le chiave false apprir gl'usci, volse uscir per una porta che andava al giardino, in camicia, con la peliccia, per fuggire il pericolo, e qui fu affogato, e poi condotto fuori dal giardino, in un piccolo horto fuori dalla muraglia della Terra, e che poi con il fuoco ruinassero la casa per amazzar il resto ch'era dentro, di che se ne fa congettura percio che il Re fu trovato morto in camicia, con la peliccia a canto, et alcune donne che allogiavano vicino al giardino, affermano d'haver udito gridar il Re : ‘ Eh fratelli miei habbiate pietà di me per amor di colui, che ebbe misericordia di tutto il mondo,’ et il P. Edmondo m'affirma, che il Re questa mattina, haveva secondo il suo solito udità la messa, e che era stato sempre allevato della madre Cattolicamente ma che per desiderio di regnare alle volte dissimulava l'antica religione, se, così è degni sua divina maesta haver misericordia di quella povera anima. * * *

“ Parigi, 16 de Marzo, 1567.”

Collated and certified by the Archivista, G. Tanfani, 17th February, 1840.

The following letters, from Drury to Cecil, give us some additional particulars relative to the murder of the king, and Bothwell's trial and conduct after it:—

DRURY TO CECIL.¹

" Berwick, February 28, 1586-7.

" May it please your honour, &c. * * *

" There hath been other bills bestowed² upon the church doors, as upon a tree called the Tron, wherein they speak of a smith who should make the key, and offers (so there might be assurance of the living that by proclamation was offered) he and others will with their bodies approve these to be the devisers, and upon the same venture their lives.

" There was at the meeting at Dunkeld, the Earls Moray, Morton, Athole, and Caithness, the L. Oglebie, the L. Glammis, Lindsay, and others. John Hepburn, sometime captain under the Earl Bodwell of the Hermitage, is thought to be one of the executors of this cruel enterprise; there is one Hughe Leader also suspected. I am promised to understand the certainty. His servant Sandy Duram, a Scottish man, is thought also to know some part. I will not write of so much as the Scots speak themselves, and some of them of credit.

" Standen and Nelson, with some others that served the Lord Darnley, as I hear, are referred for their wages to the Provost of Edinburgh. The Lord of Craigmillar, and the Earl Bodwell, hath promised to give Standen a horse. Hudson, a man of good years, with the rest of the musitianers, came this other day to Seton, to the queen, and required her license that they might repair into their country. She dissuaded them to the contrary, saying unto them, you have lost a good master, but if you will tarry you shall find me not only a good mistress, but a mother. But they mind again to move her, and, as I hear, minds to return. There is with her at Seton, Argyle, Huntley, Bodwell, and Livingston; the Lord Seton is gone to Newbottle, having left the whole house to the queen; so she is there of her own provision, and minds, as I am advertised, to tarry there till near unto Easter. There is in hand to have the lords assemble in Edinburgh. She hath twice sent for the Earl of Moray, who stayeth himself by my ladie in her sickness. It is said that the Lord Fleming shall be the Earl Bodwell's deputy at Anwick for suppression of the rebels of Liddesdale, and that certain of the soldiers are gone from Edinburgh to the Hermitage there to remain.

" There was a rich ship of Shetland, bound to Flanders, lost this last week at Holy Island, receiving a leak, coming from Leith. She was laden with fells, hides, and leaden ore. The Frenchmen that

¹ State-paper Office, B.C.

² Sic in original.

I wrote of in my last letters, that took shipping at Leith, have been put in by weather into the Holy Island, and there have remained these eight days past.

“ Edward Collingwood, one of this garrison horsemen, is returned from the Earl Bodwell, having remained with him in Scotland this quarter of this year. I have upon respects committed him to ward: by my next letters your honour shall understand more. The gates of Seton are very straitly kept. Captain Cullen, with his company, have the credit nearest her person.

“ The Earl of Bodwell was on Thursday at Edinburgh, where he openly declared, affirming the same by his oath, that if he knew who were the setters up of the bills and writings he would wash his hands in their blood. His followers, who are to the number of fifty, follow him very near. Their gesture, as his, is of the people much noted. They seem to go near and about him, as though there were that would harm him; and his hand, as he talks with any that is not assured unto him, upon his dagger, with a strange countenance, as the beholders of him thinks. Even as the L. Darnley, and his servant William Taylor, lay in the house in distance one from the other, even so, as also otherwise,¹ were they found together. Signior Francis, as I hear, minds to pass this way within six or eight days.

“ I send your lordship here the copy of some of the bills set up, whereby you may see how undutifully the doers of the same doth behave themselves against their sovereign. I have thought it my part as well to send to you this, as I have done in the rest; for that I would, if you should so think it meet, that her majesty my sovereign, should understand all that comes to my knowledge of the proceedings in these parts. The Lady Bodwell is, I am by divers means informed, extremely sick, and not likely to live. They will say there, she is marvellously swollen.—Even now is brought me that the queen came upon Wednesday at night to the Lord Whawton’s² house, seven miles off this side; dined by the way at a place called Tranent, belonging to the Lord Seton, where he and the Earl of Huntley paid for the dinner, the queen and the Earl Bodwell having, at a match of shooting, won the same of them. There is a proclamation made in Edinburgh, forbidding all persons for raising up any of the stones or timber at the house where the L. Darnley was murdered. There is one of Edinburgh that affirms how Mr James Bafourde bought of him powder as much as he should have paid three score pounds Scottish, but he must parfume³ it with oyle to that value. Bafourde came to Edin-

¹ Sic in original. There must be some mistake in Drury’s mode of expressing himself, as the text implies a contradiction.

² Probably, Hawton.

³ Perfume.

burgh upon Wednesday at night, accompanied to the Tower with thirty horsemen. When he was near unto the Tower, he lighted, and came in a secret way ; [one] is now come to me of this Tower that saw him when he came : he is hateful to the people. This person of this Tower assures me also, that yesterday, being Thursday, before he departed thence, he saw a bill, having been set up the night before, where were these letters written in Roman hand, very great, M. R. with a sword in a hand near the same letters ; then an L. B. with a mallet near them, which mallet, they, in their writing, called a mell. These being even now brought me, and affirmed by him that saw it, I have also thought it my part to advertise your honour of, that her maj. my sovereign, may know all that passes, as much as comes to my knowledge, wherein I think I do my duty ; which, if I understand from you that it be not so taken, I shall cease from it, and do according to your direction ; for I only desire from your honour that I may from time to time receive your advice, how best I may here employ my time to deserve her majesty's favour and liking. How I have spent my time sithence my last coming, in remedying of things needful for her highness's service, your honour may by others understand.

"I have received divers requests made unto me by them that hath come from Scotland for the receiving of Standen and his company. I have answered, I will neither advise them to come, nor promise them any favour ; and minds, if they come, to commit them to ward till I understand from you her majesty's pleasure, which it may please you to signify unto me.

"The L. of Cessford and Fernyhirst, with the chief of both parties, are now at Edinburgh for the continuance of the agreement amongst them ; which agreement, as it is thought, will breed no great good to the queen's maj. my sovereign her subjects upon the borders ; for the being agreed, they will rob and spoil faster by their reding.¹ * * * &c.

"W. DRURY."

No. XIX.

Bothwell's Trial, page 395.

The following is the letter to Cecil, alluded to in the text :

DRURY TO CECIL.²

"15th April, 1567.

"Right Honble.—The queen's majesty's letter, directed to the Queen of Scots, I received the 11th hereof, at x of the clock, which forthwith

¹ By their reding, i. e. by their agreement : in consequence of their agreement they will be able to rob the faster. ² State-paper Office, B.C.

I discharged by the Provost Marshal here, who, in mine opinion, was not the unmeetest I could choose for the purpose.

“ He arrived at the court the 12th, at six in the morning, and then used his diligence immediately to deliver his letter, which he had in charge, to the queen, attending some good space in court, procuring all that he might by the means of such as were near her person, who told him it was early, and that her majesty was asleep, and therefore advised him to tarry some time thereabouts, till she arose ; which he did, going out of the court into the town, and shortly after returned, she being not yet risen, and therefore walked about till 9 or almost 10 o’clock, when all the lords and gentlemen were assembled taking their horse ; and then thinking his opportunity aptest, going into the court as a little before he did, (the contents of the letter he brought being conjectured and bruted to be for stay of the assize,) was denied passage into the court in very uncourteous manner, not without some violence offered ; which seeing he could not be permitted to have recourse as all other persons, whatsoever they were, he requested that some gentleman of credit would undertake faithfully to deliver his letter, from the queen’s majesty of England, to the queen their sovereign, which none would seem to undertake.

“ Upon this came unto him the Parson of Oldhamestock, surnamed Hepborne, who told him that the Earl Bodwell had sent him with this message, ‘that the earl, understanding he had letters for the queen, would advise him to retire him to his ease, or about some other his business, for the queen was so molested and disquieted with the business of that day, that he saw no likelihood of any meet time to serve his turn, till after the assize.’

“ Then came the Lord of Skirling, who asked him, if his letter were either from the council or the queen’s majesty : he told him from the queen’s majesty only. Then, said he, ye shall be soon discharged ; and so returning into the court, desired the said person to keep him company at the gate, which he did ; and therewith espying a Scottish man whom he had for his guide, took occasion to reprehend and threaten him of hanging, for bringing English villains as sought to and procured the stay of the assize, with words of more reproach.

“ In this instant Ledington was coming out, and Bodwell with him, at the which all the lords and gentlemen mounted on horseback, till that Ledington came to him demanding [of] him the letter which he delivered. Then Bodwell and he returned to the queen, and stayed there within half an hour, the whole troop of lords and gentlemen still on horseback, attending for his coming. Ledington seemed willing till have passed by the provost without any speech ; but he pressed towards him, and asked him if the queen’s majesty had perused the

letter, and what service it would please her majesty to command him back again.

"He answered, that as yet the queen was sleeping, and therefore had not delivered the letters, and thought that there would not be any meet time for it till after the assize, wherefore he willed him to attend ; so giving place to the [throng] of people that passed, which was great, and by the estimation of men of good judgment above 4000 gentlemen besides others. The Earl Bodwell passed with a merry and lusty cheer, attended on with all the soldiers, being 200, all harkebuzers, to the Tolbooth, and there kept the door, that none might enter but such as were more for the behoof of the one side than the other. The assize began between x and xi, and ended vii in the afternoon.

"The Earl of Argyle and Huntley [were] chief judges. What particularly was done or said there, I cannot yet learn, more than that there were two advocates called Crawford and Cunningham, for the Earl of Lennox, who accused the Earl Bodwell for the murder of the king, alleging certain documents for the same, and desiring forty days' term longer, for the more perfect and readier collection of his proofs."

There is another original letter of Drury's, written about this time, which is a fragment, and without the date of month or day. It consists of disjointed pieces of news sent from Scotland by some one of those many spies from whom Drury received information. "The guard," says he, "of the soldiers of Bodwell, he going to be tried by the assize, and their keeping of the door, is much maliked of." "Bothwell, immediately after the trial, set up a cartel of defiance ; he would fight any one (except a defamed person) who accused him of the king's death. If I thought it might stand with the queen my sovereign her favour, I would answer it and commit the sequel to God. I have for me sufficient to charge him with, and would prove it upon his body, as willingly as I would receive the obtaining of my sute, required of the queen's majesty. I have here caused the draught of a letter to her majesty, humbly craving your honour's judgment of it. The marriage of the queen to Bodwell, and the death of the prince, is presently looked for. I send you here inclosed the ploughman's bill, if your honour shall think it good to show it to her majesty. There is another worse, which I am promised.

"The cardinal did send a very gentle letter to the Lord of Moray by Clarenock, also credit by mouth, craving pardon for the past, for that he had borne him evil will ; but now, finding that, though his religion were contrary to his, yet his honest, honourable doings, and the care that he was now surely persuaded he hath tofore had of this queen here, and his sound dealing with her, ever moved him now to

think himself beholden unto him. Monsieur de Croc seems much to mislike the earl's departure, and says so to the queen. She answered, he went away for debt; but she wept at his departure, wishing he were not so precise in religion. She wished him to go to Flanders, and to visit neither England nor France.

"It was Captain Cullen's persuasion, for more surely, to have the king strangled, and not only to trust to the train of powder, affirming he had known many so saved. Sir Andro Carr, with others, was on horseback near unto the place, for aid to the cruel enterprise if need had been. The Lady Coldingham, now wife to the young Mr of Caithness, and sister to the Earl Bodwell, is in credit, and in the place of the Lady Renes, now out of court. Suspicion banished the one and placed the other. I dare not say, as others that knows more says.

"Great means was used to have had the Earl of Moray staid in the town till the cruel deed had been done. The Bishop of Glasco, ambassador for Scotland in France, hath written to the queen, and to others which the queen hath understanding of, that nothing likes her, of the death of the king. * * The king was long of dying, and to his strength made debate for his life. The Lord David, son to the duke, is mad, and Arbroath, his brother, hath already had a show of the same disease. * * There accompanied the Earl of Moray to the boundary, his brother the Lord of Holyrood House, the Lord Hume, and the chief of the gentlemen of the March, and some of Lothian, as Brymstone and others. The king would often read and sing the 55th Psalm, and went over it a few hours before his death. There were not many that he would of his griefs deal with, but to some he would say he should be slain, and complain him much of his being hardly dealt with. Even now by the under-marshal I received this more. His own evil handling. He only kept out of the court pushed out as it were by force, thrust upon the breast with extremity, in the sight of divers gentlemen, which seemed much to mislike therewith.

"A bill set up, 'Farewell gentyll Henry, but a vengeance of Mary,' The queen sent a token and message to Bodwell being at the assize.¹ The queen, upon Thursday last, past through the street unto the market, where there were women sitting that had to sell. They ryase as she came near, crying aloud, 'God save your grace, if you be saikless of the king's deade [of the king's death]' The queen's advocates, that should have inveighed against Bodwell, are much condemned for their silence. The like at an assize hath not been used. * * Bod-

¹ By Drury to Cecil, B.C. 24th April, 1567.

well rode upon the courser that was the king's, when he rode to the assize. The nobility long tarried his coming a horseback, to accompany him. There was that followed him above *iiii* thousand, whereof the greatest part were gentlemen, besides they that were [in] the streets, which were more in number. The streets were full from the Canongate to the castle.

"Ledington and others told the under-marshall that the queen was asleep, when he himself saw her looking out at a window, showed him by one of La Croke's servants, a Frenchman, and Ledington's wife with her; and Bodwell, after he was a horseback, looked up, and she gave him a friendly nod for a farewell; for till it was known the under-marshall's errand as the contents of the letter, he had liberty in court; but not after, when he was once out, suffered to go in again."

No. XX.

Mary's Marriage with Bothwell, page 417.

It is remarked in the text, p. 417, that the queen, although making a show of contentment, was really wretched. The following letter of De Croc, the French ambassador, was written three days after her marriage with Bothwell, but recounts an interview which the ambassador had with Mary on her marriage day. It is taken from the MS. Collections of Prince Labanoff. The original is in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris. Collection de Harlay, No. 218.

"*Depeche De Monsieur de Croc a Catherine de Medicis, du 18 Mai, 1567.*

"MADAME,—Les lettres que j'escrivois a V. M. par le dit Evesque (de Dumblane) sont pour estre leues; Vous pouvez penser que je ne me fye a lui quoi que je vous escrive. Vos Majestes ne sauraient mieux faire que de luy faire mauvaise chere, et trouvez bien mauvaise le mariage, car il est tres malheureux, et desja l'on n'est pas à s'en repenter. Jeudi, Sa majeste m'envoya querir, on je m'apperceus d'une estrange façon entre elle et son Mary, ce que elle me voulloit excuser, disant que si je la voyois triste, c'estoit pour ce qu'elle ne voulloit se rejouyr comme elle dit ne le faire jamais, ne desirant que la mort.¹"

"Hier estant renfermez tous deux dedans un cabinet avec le Compte de Bodwell, elle crio tout hault, que on luy baillast ung couteau pour se tuer. Ceulx qui estoient dedans la chambre, dans la piece qui

¹ This conversation, it is to be particularly noted, occurred on the very day of Mary's marriage to Bothwell, the 15th of May.

